$2.25 February 14, 1997

COMMONWEAL

St. Charles Seminary Library
Carthagena, Ohio

FEMINISM & FAMILIES

MARY ANN GLENDON

********** 3-DIGIT 458
CW 00079972 9722

ST CHARLES LIBRARY
ST CHARLES SEMINARY
2860 US ROUTE 127
CARTHAGENA OH 45822-9591

03
0 74470 81397 2

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Do Unto Others So They Can Do For Themselves."

The Catholic Church's Campaign for Human Development gives poor and low-income Americans a chance to control their own lives. Since 1970, CHD has made grants of more than $200 million to hundreds of successful projects run by the poor. With CHD's help, they have:

- created affordable housing for families
- helped the unemployed find jobs
- supported neighborhood efforts to combat crime
- improved local schools in low-income areas
- started cooperative businesses

Your contribution to CHD will give America's poor what they need most—a chance to work together to build a better life for themselves.

Campaign For Human Development

The Catholic Church Working to End Poverty and Injustice in America.

For more information or to send a donation, write or call:
Campaign for Human Development
U.S. Catholic Conference
3211 Fourth Street, N.E.
Washington, DC 20017-1194

1-800-946-4CHD

United States Catholic Conference

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOUNDED 1924

COMMONWEAL

February 14, 1997 / Volume CXXIV, Number 3

UPFRONT

Correspondence *A review draws fire; a counterattack follows.* 4

Editorials *How dotty can we get?* 5
Evicted! 6

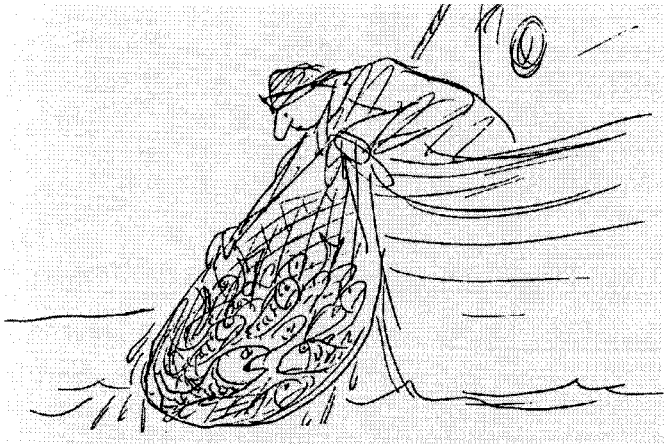
COLUMNIST

The Crusoe fallacy
David R. Carlin, Jr.
A former state senator from Rhode Island asks whether we are all islands unto ourselves. 6

SHORT TAKES

It ain't broken
John Buell 8

Hungry together
Roger F. Repohl
Taking inspiration and instruction from Islam, a Catholic extols the virtues and the hardships of Lenten fasting. 9



"Damn it, quit saying, 'Well, people have to eat!'"

ARTICLE

FEMINISM & THE FAMILY
Mary Ann Glendon
Will the real needs of contemporary women, men, and families bring about a new feminism and a renewed sense of political engagement? It had better. 11

THE LAST WORD

Green eggs & ham & God
Elizabeth Kirkland Cahill 25

VERDICTS

SCREEN

Some Mother's Son
Richard Alleva 16

MEDIA

The video messiah
John D. Spalding
Our correspondent enrolls in Jerry Falwell's Institute of Biblical Studies, and in so doing gives a new air of sanctity to the term "couch potato." 17

BOOKS

Dead Season
by Alan Berlow
José Magadia 19

Epitaph for American Labor
by Max Green
George G. Higgins 20

Fighter with a Heart: Writings of Charles Owen Rice
edited by Charles J. McCollester
Patrick Jordan 22

Resurrection of the Body in Western Christendom, 200–1336
by Caroline Walker Bynum
Mary Douglas 23

POETRY

South Slopes in Winter: The Rockies, after Years
Dixie Partridge 14

Commonweal Associates
The honor roll of those who cover our debts, pay the rent, and feed our children. Hug, hug, kiss, kiss. 27

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To the Editors

Sexuality & selfhood

In his letter published in the January 17 issue, Michon Matthiesen uses the phrase "sacramentalize your isolation." It is rich with connotations, some joyous and sanctifying, some frightening and destructive. One of the truths reflected in it is the habit of our God to choose those whom we might demean and reject to bear the message, to experience its power.

I think Matthiesen's reading of my essay ["Homosexuality & the Priesthood," November 22, 1996] as demonstrating a "prejudicial narrowness" regarding sexuality is a distorted reading, a view of the whole through a truly narrow prism. I disagree with Matthiesen's understanding of the reality of sexuality: how it helps to form and fashion our psyches, our lives, our families, our cultures. As I see it, our sexuality is one of the central, energizing gifts of the Creator, an important definer of our humanity and of our spirituality; a force, a filter, a landscape, sometimes quiet and unobserved, yet ever present as we breathe and pray. To leave it unmentioned would be palliative, superficial, cowardly. JOHN SHEKLETON

Minneapolis, Minn.

Mapping Poland

Richard P. McBrien's review of the Bernstein-Politi biography of John Paul II (January 17, 1997) claims that Poland's "present borders were created...by the hands of Stalin and Hitler." In fact, after the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany finished their brutal implementation of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, there was nothing left of Poland. A remnant, the General-Government, was not directly incorporated into the USSR, the Reich, or Lithuania, but this was nothing but a Nazi administrative convenience. Postwar Poland was created by the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union at the Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam conferences, without, I might add, any real Polish say in the matter.

Nor is McBrien right in saying that until 1939 "nearly a third of Polish citizens were non-Catholics." While almost a third of the population was non-Polish, a sizable percentage of these national minorities was Catholic. Large numbers of the Germans and all of the Lithuanians were Roman Catholics, while many of the Ukrainians and some of the Belorussians were Eastern Rite Catholics. DANIEL L. SCHLAFLY, JR.

Saint Louis, Mo.

The writer is associate professor of history at Saint Louis University.

Virtual journalism

In his review of the pope on the occasion of Bernstein and Politi's *His Holiness*, Richard P. McBrien cites the latter in support of the former. He notes in particular the book's account of the pope's private meeting with Nafis Sadick, undersecretary of the UN Conference on Population and Development, at the Vatican prior to the conference. Says McBrien: "If this report is essentially accurate, the meeting may help to explain the politically intransigent posture the Vatican adopted in Cairo, where it forged an alliance with some of the world's most extreme Muslim fundamentalist nations."

How dare the pope do such a thing! For an academic who claims to love politics, McBrien is "shocked, shocked," as Claude Raines famously put it in *Casablanca*, when he sees intransigence in the Vatican. If McBrien were also able to recognize intransigence in the Clinton-Gore White House, then I might, as the current political cant puts it, "feel his pain."

One wonders where McBrien was in the year leading up to and including the Cairo conference. Does he not know that the preparatory conferences were put in the hands of International Planned Parenthood, which is nothing if not political? Is he not aware of the political directives the Clinton-Gore White House sent out to all U.S. embassies regarding the abortion and other planks which the White House knew the Vatican would oppose? The White House was using the nation's diplomatic corps to line up UN member-nations behind the Clinton-Gore pro-abortion position—and against the Vatican. That, in fact, is what triggered the pope's strategy: he was handed loaded dice.

Regarding the Bernstein-Politi story of the Sadick-pope meeting, McBrien seems not to have heard the "two-source" rule (remember Bob Woodward and Bernstein on Watergate?) for journalists. No matter, Bernstein seems to have forgotten it, too. Since Bernstein talked to only one of the two people who were in on the conversation between the pope and Sadick, we have only her view of what was said. As it happens, however, there were more than two people in on the interview of Sadick by Bernstein: her public information officer, who was quite surprised by Bernstein's incessant questions to her about what the pope was doing when she spoke to him, how he looked—did the veins in his neck stick out—that sort of thing.

My point is that what makes the book a "good read" is also what makes it unreliable. If you are going to venture into virtual reality by recreating what was going on inside people's heads, what they "must have thought and felt," then you essentially relinquish any claims to doing history—or, for that matter, journalism.

The point of the Sadick episode in the book is to add dramatic weight to the authors' own contention that this "pope has problems with women" (Bernstein is expert on men with woman problems, as we have learned from his ex-wife, Nora Ephron). Indeed the book has Sadick coming

(Continued on page 27)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STAFF

Editor: **Margaret O'Brien Steinfels**
Executive Editor: **Paul Baumann**
Managing Editor: **Patrick Jordan**
Production Editor: **Jacqueline Dowdell**
Senior Writer: **Robert G. Hoyt**
Business Manager: **Richard Haas**
Poetry: **Rosemary Deen**
Design: **Emil Antonucci**
Screen: **Richard Alleva**
Media: **Frank McConnell**
Columnists: **John Garvey, Abigail McCarthy, David R. Carlin, Jr., Sidney Callahan**
Intern: **Bernard G. Prusak**
Staff: **Harriette Balsky, Carmen P. Alava, Sandra Smith**
Advertising Manager: **Ruth E. Taylor**
Publisher: **Edward S. Skillin**

Commonweal, [ISSN 0010-3330] A Review of Public Affairs, Religion, Literature, and the Arts, is published biweekly except Christmas/New Year's; and monthly July and August, by Commonweal Foundation, 15 Dutch St., New York, NY, 10038. Telephone: (212) 732-0800. Display advertising correspondence should be sent to Ruth E. Taylor, 11 Graffam Rd., So. Portland, ME 04106 (207) 799-4387, classified advertising correspondence to 15 Dutch St. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Commonweal, 15 Dutch St. New York, NY 10038.

Commonweal is indexed in Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature, Catholic Periodical Index, Index of American Periodical Verse, Book Review Digest, and Book Review Index. Microfilm from Vol. 1, 1924, to current issues available through University Microfilm, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106 and on Microfiche from Bell & Howell, Wooster, OH 44691. *Commonweal* articles also are available at many libraries and research facilities on CD-ROM and in electronic data bases. Serials Data program No.: ISSN 0010-3330. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional offices. Copyright © 1997 Commonweal Foundation. Single Copy, $2.25. Yearly subscriptions, U.S., $44; Canada, $47; foreign, $50. Special two-year rate: U.S. $75; Canada, $81; foreign, $87. Annual rates for air-mail delivery outside U.S.: Western Hemisphere, $84; Europe, $89; other parts of the world, $99. All Canadian and foreign subscriptions must be paid in U.S. dollars by International Money Order or by check on a U.S. bank.

Illustrations: Cover, Emil Antonucci; pp. 3, 6, 11, 18, 20, Ross, Rothco; p. 3, *Fighter with a Heart*, University of Pittsburgh Press; p. 7, Art Bouthiller; p. 9, Baloo, Rothco; p. 16, Schwadron, Rothco; p. 19, Valerry; pp. 23, 26, Charlot; columnist portraits, Elaine Mills.

How dotty can we get?

Social Security works. Most retired Americans possess significantly greater material resources than did their parents or grandparents. Social Security, private pensions, savings, and their own growing numbers enable seniors to lead active lives of dignity and independence. This is social justice and we should be proud of it.

Instead, in an era intent on unraveling the social safety net, Social Security has come under attack, though not as directly as welfare. But pensioners are a more formidable lot than poor women and their children, and the Social Security "crisis" lies in the future. In fact, the Social Security Trust Fund is currently over-funded: the payroll taxes of today's working Americans fund the benefits of the retired, just as those now retired once paid the benefits of those who preceded them. Today's workers pay more than retirees need and the surplus is invested in U.S. Treasury Bonds. Perhaps this conservative investment strategy, more than a future funding crisis, whets the appetites of those eager to change the current system.

That future crisis lies with the retirement of the "baby boom" generation. In 2010, the first boomers will turn sixty-five, and over the following two decades vast numbers will retire and claim Social Security. Will there be enough working Americans to fund their benefits? Or will they bankrupt the system? As the potential crisis has unfolded, some modest adjustments have been proposed to keep the system solvent: instead of tying the Social Security cost-of-living adjustment to the consumer price index, tie it to the actual rate of inflation (1 percent lower); gradually raise the normal retirement age; increase the Social Security payroll tax (which would be hard on low-wage workers); or raise the $65,000 cap on wages subject to Social Security taxes (*see* John Buell's analysis, page 8).

One or more of these adjustments would solve the baby-boomer shortfall, especially if made now. But each adjustment would rile some constituency, and President Bill Clinton and the Congress lack the courage to begin.

Enter the report of the Advisory Council on Social Security. Mirroring our larger political stalemate, the committee failed to reach any consensus and instead offered a number of options focused on putting Social Security funds in the stock market. Among the proposals are: direct government investment of up to 40 percent of the trust fund; and mandatory investment accounts in which a portion of an individual's payroll tax is allotted to the care of Wall Street. By investing in stocks, which historically do better than bonds, the council argues, Social Security can be saved. Only the aura of today's extended bull market has secured this scheme a serious hearing. Direct investment puts the government in the business of investment banking and requires it to raise money elsewhere for its own bonds. Retirees with individual accounts run the risk of needing their funds when the market is down. The chief beneficiaries of this scheme would not be the retirees or Social Security but brokers and investment counselors who collect their percentage of the investments, no matter what the market does. Benefiting along with them would be the ideologues who believe that the invisible hand is morally superior to the generational reciprocity that allows us to support our parents and other seniors in their old age, and our children to support us and others in our old age. The anoma-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ly of the baby-boomers does not require that we foolishly abandon a system that works. What we need is to be more generous and imaginative in insuring Social Security's solvency and security, and more vigorous in shoring up practices of social reciprocity between the generations and between rich and poor.

"At least we have each other."

EVICTED!

The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune we can cope with. But the entropy—not to mention the lack of heat and the broken elevator—engulfing us here at 15 Dutch Street is very much something else again. Very much! In our last report ("Stop Thief! Please!" November 8, 1996), we alerted our readers to the illiberal fiends who stopped just short of using tactical nuclear weapons to get into these hallowed offices. Once in, they tarried not, neither did they spin, but scurried off with all our worldly possessions. That incident, it now appears, was what your mother used to call "a hint." Now, instead of worrying about people breaking into *Commonweal*'s offices, *Commonweal* is being thrown out of them. In short, we're being evicted. That's right: the editors of your very favorite magazine are being tossed out on the street. Obviously the Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith will stop at nothing to silence the voices of reason and enlightenment (joke).

In plain English, *Commonweal*'s lease on 15 Dutch Street expired December 31. We presumed the lease would be renewed, as it had been previously. In any event, our landlord (The Collegiate Church Corporation) did not communicate to us the slightest suggestion that it would not be. On December 23 we learned that the landlord had leased the entire premises to a development corporation for the next ninety-nine years. The development corporation has refused to renew our lease, returned our rent check, and told us to vacate these premises "immediately." It plans to turn the building into more remunerative residential lofts and apartments. We have no legal recourse.

In good *Commonweal* fashion, we brilliantly laid out for our new landlord the untenable nature of his moral position. Impressed with our analysis, he told us to vacate the office "really immediately." We continue to pray, of course, that this new friend might become sensible to the objective moral nature of reality, but we are also shopping for a new home. San Francisco would be nice. So would Seattle. But since moving the office elsewhere would entail uprooting the staff (kids and all), we will probably have to find shelter in Manhattan, or close by. Not surprisingly, any new offices will cost significantly more than the bargain-basement rent we've been paying at Dutch Street for the last ten years. We would be grateful for any information about or suggestions for procuring reasonably priced (*read*: cheap) space in Manhattan (or possibly elsewhere). But time is short, our rent budget is meager, and there is another letter from the new landlord lying unopened on our desk. Keep you posted!

OF SEVERAL MINDS

DAVID R. CARLIN, JR.

THE CRUSOE FALLACY

Who is in charge here? Me, me, me...

If there is any grand belief that you would think safe, it is the ancient belief that everything is connected with everything else.

Primitive religions commonly believe that the movements of the sun and moon and stars are somehow connected with the way I treat my mother-in-law, my dog, my garden, and so forth. So I had better treat my mother-in-law, dog, garden, etc., in the right way. More precisely, I had better treat them in the *rite* way. The universe is a sacred cosmos, and because this is so my dealings with reality take on a ritual character.

The belief in the interconnectedness of everything did not vanish in those parts of the world in which primitive religion either disappeared or was subsumed in some higher religion. Far from it. The coming of Christianity, if anything, reinforced the belief by taking it out of the realm of pure myth and translating into the realm of rational understanding. The God of the theologians was a rational God. He didn't create the world in a random way, the way little children blow bubbles. He was an architect, a designer. Hence, even if we were not capable of understanding his plan, we could be sure that every element in it was related to every other element.

Nor did the coming of modern natural science, hostile in so many ways to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the traditional Christian worldview, do anything to undermine this ancient belief that everything is connected with everything else. Quite the contrary. The single most astonishing achievement in the history of science, Isaac Newton's *Principia*, in which he presented and defended his theory of universal gravitation, brought the belief down from metaphysics into the region of physics. The interconnectedness of all things was no longer a theological abstraction but a concrete empirical fact. Every particle of matter in the universe, no matter how slight its mass, no matter how remote its distance, exercised a gravitational pull on every other particle.

No wonder his contemporaries were so amazed at Newton's achievement. For many centuries religion and philosophy had taught that the world was the systematic creation of a systematic God. Newton not only confirmed this but revealed the mathematical formulas God had used in framing his design and manufacturing the universe. Like some metaphysical Bob Woodward who had great inside sources, Newton permitted his readers to see the mind of God at work.

Charles Darwin's biological revolution, which took place nearly two centuries after Newton's physical revolution, was radically nontheistic. This was not simply a matter of its conflict with the Genesis myth of the six days of creation, a conflict disturbing only to those attached to the idea that all parts of the Bible should be read literally. More importantly, its postulate of blind and random mutation seemed (at least to many) to eliminate the need for a designer standing behind the vast and intricate design of the biological world. All was a matter of sheer chance. Yet even Darwin retained the idea that everything is connected with everything else; and not only retained it, but gave it its greatest empirical extension since Newton. It was impossible fully to understand the existence of a single living thing unless we understand the complete ecosystem in which that thing lives and moves and has its being.

Thus the idea of the interconnectedness of all things, which for so many centuries had been based on a belief in the existence of God, survived even the death of God. The new biology offered a nontheistic version of the idea expressed by Darwin's contemporary, Tennyson:

> Flower in the crannied wall,
> I pluck you out of the crannies,
> I hold you here, root and all, in my hand,
> Little flower—but if I could understand
> What you are, root and all, and all in all,
> I should know what God and man is.

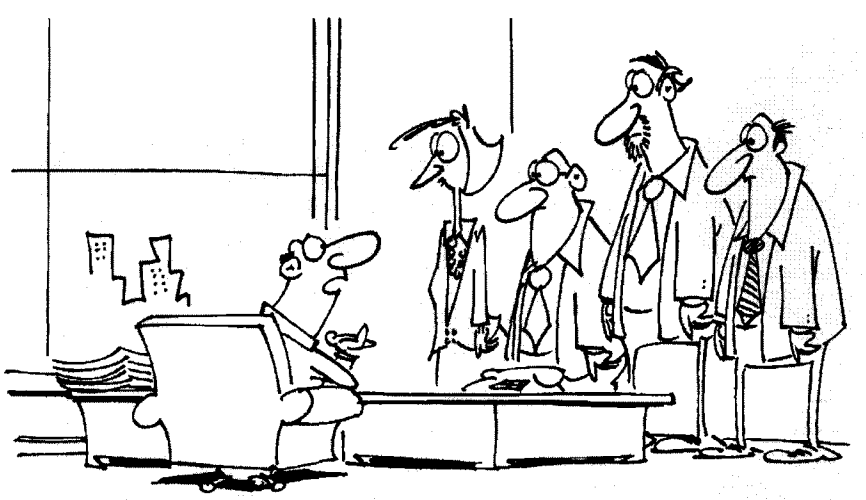
I said at the beginning that you would think this idea is indestructible if any idea is. But not so. When we contemporary Americans think about our place in society, many of us disregard thousands of years of primitive religion, theology, philosophy, science, and poetry, adopting instead a superstition that might be termed "the illusion of personal autonomy" or "the Robinson Crusoe fallacy."

This enormously popular superstition comes in both conservative and liberal varieties.

The conservative form is rugged individualism, examples of which can be found any weekday on the Rush Limbaugh radio program. "Rush," the caller will inevitably say, "I did it all on my own, without a single bit of government help: got an education, ran a business, raised three beautiful and God-fearing children." In other words, the caller's success in life owes nothing to police forces, courts, prisons, Federal Reserve banks, the military, public schools, state colleges, Social Security, Medicare, and a thousand other things, including laws that prohibit crime, protect property, and require compliance with contracts.

The liberal equivalent to rugged individualism is the belief that there is a realm of privacy in which the actions of an individual have no impact on anyone but himself or herself; from which it follows that these actions should be of no concern to anyone but the parties involved. Usually this has to do with sex, since liberals are as preoccupied with sex as conservatives are with taxes. Sexual conduct, the liberal believes, falls within the zone of privacy, and is therefore of no legitimate interest to anyone but the sex partners. In other words, reckless sexual conduct that has resulted in high rates of out-of-wedlock births, AIDS, and other sexually transmitted diseases should be of no concern to the general public, even though the public is required to pick up an enormous tab for the social and economic costs that follow from this conduct.

These are two branches of the same family tree, cousins who don't get along with one another even though they are both infected with the congenital idiocy that runs through the entire family. The Robinson Crusoe fallacy has blessed the United States with both a nitwit liberalism and a nitwit conservatism. □



"I've called you all in here because I was feeling so alone."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

John Buell

IT AIN'T BROKE

Social Security really works

Perhaps no noun in our political vocabulary is more misused than the term "crisis." Crisis language is used to suggest that institutions are at a fundamental turning point. If Social Security is at such a point, it isn't because of major financial problems in the system. At most, Social Security's current problems may require modest tax increases to avoid a shortfall—three decades hence. Even this hypothetical "problem" assumes exceedingly pessimistic projections regarding the growth of the Social Security Trust Fund and the U. S. economy as a whole.

In politics, much ado about relatively little almost always suggests a hidden agenda. The familiar antigovernment agenda, now taking aim at one of the New Deal's most significant and enduring contributions to our political economy, is far more dangerous than any distant shortfall in the Social Security Trust Fund.

The current call to dismantle Social Security is hardly new; it goes back to earliest days. Its godparents are Alf Landon and Barry Goldwater, Republican nominees for president in 1936 and 1964. Their ignominious defeats put this agenda on hold, but phoenix-like it seems to reappear every generation or so. What makes this particular reappearance more ominous is that it occurs in the conjuncture with several other dangerous trends. These include two decades of relatively slow wage and productivity growth, the distrust of government, the decline of organized labor, and the rise of budgetary fundamentalism.

The presumed bankruptcy of Social Security is now being used to give greater plausibility to further attacks on labor protection and affirmative government. Thus, if for no other reason than to slow the steady march to an economy dominated solely by corporate interests, it is important to provide a different perspective.

The case *against* Social Security is based on four related assertions: (1) continuing budget deficits are bankrupting the U. S. economy, (2) future benefits to a cadre of aging baby boomers will further erode the budget, (3) closing those deficits with higher Social Security taxes would sow intergenerational warfare by padding the accounts of many already affluent elderly, and (4) a more generous but less costly retirement program could be implemented through reductions in guaranteed minimum benefits coupled with individually managed retirement accounts. Each of these arguments is either wrong or misleading.

1. Cutting government programs to eliminate yearly deficits is a route to disaster. Money borrowed by government at all levels to finance schools, basic research, health, and transit is an investment in our future. No modern economy grows without these investments. Requiring such spending to be paid for out of current income is like limiting home ownership to those who can pay cash. Those concerned about economic stagnation might well look elsewhere—to trade treaties and labor policies that erode workers' wages and productivity (*see* "Getting It Backwards: Why Balancing the Budget Isn't Enough," *Commonweal*, October 25, 1996).

2. The notion that this country, the wealthiest nation on earth, can no longer afford Social Security is based on even more suspect assumptions. Social Security takes an increasing share of the budget not merely because the percentage of elderly citizens has grown but also because the economy itself has failed to expand anywhere nearly as rapidly in the last two decades as in the quarter century after World War II. Predictions of Social Security bankruptcy are based on assumptions that payroll taxes will be collected from an economy growing more slowly than at any period in our nation's history. Social Security's critics then turn around and assure us that the value of individually managed retirement portfolios will grow rapidly in the same economy! But reductions in Social Security's income support for the elderly are only likely to erode the purchasing power of retirees during economic downturns, thus making the economy even more fragile.

3. Even if we must raise taxes to keep the system solvent, there are good reasons not to worry about the impact on the economy of small tax increases designed to preserve such a successful program. Jeff Faux of the Economic Policy Institute argues that the best way to measure the economic burdens on any working population is to calculate the ratio of all nonworkers to workers. Remember, Social Security is basically a way for younger working generations to pay for the maintenance of their nonworking parents and grandparents. The ratio of nonworkers to workers today stands at about .7 to 1. It was as high as .946 to 1 in 1960, when we baby boomers were all in school. With lower birth rates the norm now, it is expected to increase, but only to .795 to 1 in the next forty years. Even using the Social Security Administration's most pessimistic estimates about economic growth, the fund could be kept solvent under current accounting conventions with an increase in Social Security taxes of only one-tenth of 1 percent per year between 2010 and 2040. The modest pain in such minute increases would be largely offset by relative decreases in the amount of money society would need to commit to the very slow-growing population of the young. And if benefits were financed by a tax on all earned income (by removing the $62,000 cap on income currently subject to Social Security taxation), the tax burden on the poorest workers would be reduced.

4. There are rich people on Social Security, but Social Security is not the source of their affluence. The largest individual pension is about $15,000. Three quarters of Social Security recipients have total incomes, including Social Security, under $25,000. Rates of poverty among the elder-

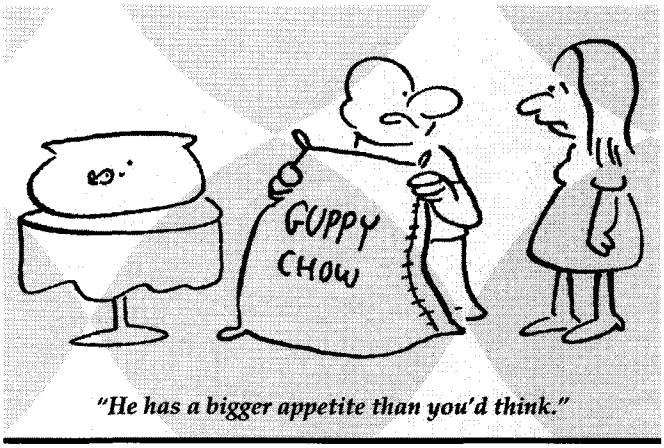
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ly have decreased in the last generation in large measure because Social Security has been so successful and efficient a program.

Social Security isn't a retirement plan. It is a form of social insurance for everyone. Those who spend most of their lives working and paying taxes merit adequate protection when illness or age makes work more difficult. Most Americans don't want to allow the elderly to starve, regardless of how well or poorly their life efforts fared. If Social Security's critics were really interested in class or intergenerational justice, they'd take a closer look at estate taxes, labor law, and minimum-wage standards. If giving more Americans a chance to play the market is their goal, adequate wages and private pensions would be a good start. Turning Social Security into a smaller, sub-subsistence-level program supplemented with individually managed stock accounts will foster big winners—and losers. The winners are likely to have diminishing interest in supporting even the most minimal guarantees. Welfare politics has surely taught us this lesson.

Limited investment by a government agency of some of the Social Security Trust Fund in the private economy might have merit. Nonetheless, any form of public investment in the market should include public guarantees of minimum levels of performance. Over very long periods, stocks have outperformed other investment vehicles, but most of us have little choice as to when we reach retirement or become ill. Social Security, by providing a cushion against economic vicissitudes, has not only eased personal suffering; it has also stabilized the market economy. Embracing fixes that will endanger these achievements may well occasion a real crisis. □

John Buell *writes regularly on labor and environmental issues. His most recent book, co-authored with Tom DeLuca, is* Sustainable Democracy: Individuality and the Politics of the Environment *(Sage).*



"He has a bigger appetite than you'd think."

Roger F. Repohl

HUNGRY TOGETHER

Fasting Ramadan style

For the last two years during Lent, I have been practicing a loose version of the Islamic fast. I decided on this method of fasting after listening to Muslims of my acquaintance describe their observance of the month of Ramadan (which ended this year on February 8). For thirty days, devout Muslims do not eat or drink anything from sunup to sundown. To sustain themselves, they rise before dawn and have a hearty meal, and at dusk they share a literal "break-fast," often at their mosque and often with people who are hungry because of poverty, not devotion.

The structure of the Ramadan fast appeals to everything I value in fasting. It is rigorous enough to make a difference in my life; it rewards me daily for keeping it; and it has a communal element that builds solidarity and resolve.

Practically every Catholic spiritual writer up till the mid-1960s extolled the importance of fasting. It is a given in both the Hebrew Scriptures and the New Testament, and has been a fixture in church life and liturgy from the earliest times. The ancient Latin preface for Lent, in words addressed to God, summarizes its effects: "Through bodily fasting, you rein in our imperfections, elevate the mind, lavishly bestow strength and merit."

I have found that to be true. Fasting to me is the spiritual version of athletic training. It is one of the keys to self-mastery and, conversely, a turning away from self-obsession and toward total dependence on God. Even my frequent failings at fasting are instructive; like the Law in Saint Paul, a fast I can't maintain only demonstrates the more my bondage to the flesh and my need to entrust my life to God's mercy and power.

In 1966, when I was eighteen years old and just beginning to practice the Lenten fast, Pope Paul VI relaxed the universal rule for fast and abstinence for Catholics, relegating it to Ash Wednesday and Good Friday. He appealed instead to the consciences of the faithful to find individual and "more relevant" disciplines and to focus on the "positive" elements of the Lenten tradition—prayer and works of mercy. I embraced the positive elements wholeheartedly, but found that the need to fast remained. Living as I was in the most gluttonous country in the world, I thought, what could be more "relevant" than fasting?

I have attempted all kinds of "moderate" approaches—giving up this or that, not eating between meals, even trying to implement the church's own goofy definition of fasting as eating one main meal and two smaller meals that, taken together, can be no larger than the main one. But over the years, doing my post-Lenten evaluation, three things were always apparent: One, that I had no specific focus in my fasting. Two, that the less rigorous the fast, the less likely it was that I would keep it. And three, that I had no mechanisms of positive reinforcement; when faced with the bleakness of another week of Lent, I'd say to hell with it and guiltily eat and drink my way through half the refrigerator.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Practicing a Lenten discipline based on the Islamic fast has changed all that for me:

● *It's clearly defined.* Observant Muslims will not eat or drink after dawn or before dusk. During the hours of darkness, moderate and responsible eating and drinking are not only permitted but encouraged, and in fact a whole tradition of special foods for the Ramadan pre-fast and "breakfast" has developed. In my own version, I get up just before dawn—unusual for me—to eat, and then have dinner at 5:30 P.M., well before dusk late in Lent. And in between—nothing. Even this loose approximation of a dawn-to-dusk fast does two important things for me: It circumscribes the time of fasting, and it motivates me to start my day early, carving out time for prayer and reflection that I seldom make in my "Ordinary Time" mode of life.

There is a great psychological advantage in drawing the lines of the fast so clearly. At the beginning of the day, you see exactly what is before you: no cutting corners, no excuses. If you succeed, you succeed; if you fail, you fail. This avoids scruples and self-delusion, and incidentally affords opportunities for wonderful lunch-time conversations on the spiritual life with your non-fasting friends and colleagues.

● *It's rigorous, but not health-threatening.* Provided you're healthy to begin with and make sure you take the early morning meal, there's little chance this fast can harm you. Muslims who are aged, infirm, traveling, pregnant, or nursing are exempt. Children before puberty are also exempt, but many Muslim parents gradually start their children fasting at a young age, so that even in childhood they begin to learn the spiritual benefits, strength of will, and the meaning of adult religious commitment that come from this practice. Muslims I know who observe the Ramadan fast show no ill effects. On the contrary, it seems to steel them, not just spiritually and emotionally but physically, too.

● *It is balanced, rewarding, and motivating.* Ramadan is actually a joyous time for Muslims because it balances deprivation with satisfaction. The daytime fast, coupled with the nighttime feast, reawakens you to the truth that food and drink are a gift, not a given. The fast puts you in touch with your own body, which, when you are healthy, you may take for granted and even abuse by constant and largely unthinking consumption. It makes you keenly aware of your responsibility to give your gift to those who hunger and thirst because of life's circumstances rather than simply a choice of religious practice. Lastly, this balance between fasting and feasting is a powerful motivator to continue the discipline from day to day. (I should also say that, while Muslims observe the fast for thirty days straight, I as a Catholic take off Sundays, the "resurrection days" not calculated into the forty days of Lent and the Christian tradition's own kind of motivator.)

● *It builds solidarity and resolve.* One of the most important benefits of the Muslims' Ramadan fast is the bond of solidarity it creates. It is part of every Muslim's personal *jihad* or "struggle," but because it is exactly alike for all and imposed on all but the weak it gives an acute sense of identity and commitment to a common faith. Sharing the hardship also makes it much easier to bear; there is far less chance of falling when your brothers and sisters are there to help you go on.

All this is not to say it's easy to fast this way. In the beginning, there is a period of utter distraction and agonized craving. But, as with athletic training, the flabbiness gets worked off and is replaced by increasing endurance, optimism, and wholeness.

Today, both the individual benefits and the ritually confined common hardship of fasting have generally been lost in the Catholic church, with the exception of those in monastic life. For me, the Lenten fast has long been a lonely, often embarrassing business, labeled by many as a useless vestige of a benighted, body-hating age. But I don't believe I'll be alone much longer. As with so many other traditional practices abandoned after Vatican II, thirty years of lying fallow have made the ground rich for replanting the seeds of fasting in the communal life of the church.

Last year, Bishop Kenneth Untener of Saginaw, Michigan, issued a call to the people of his diocese for a Lent of "heavy-duty fasting." Excellent educational materials developed by a special diocesan task force on Lent provided a rich catechesis on the history, theology, and psychology of fasting, and suggested many possibilities, from traditional abstinence from food and drink to more contemporary acts of restraint, such as from compulsive shopping and TV viewing. The only element missing was a clear corporate thrust. Few ideas for group practices were suggested.

Whatever discipline the church chooses in the future, I believe that it should be understood in terms of community practice: This is something that we are doing together, just as we celebrate the liturgy together. Furthermore, any effort at reintroducing the fast must make—as Muslims do—the fundamental connection with the other two Lenten disciplines of prayer and almsgiving. Putting prayer time in place of eating time emphasizes daily the true meaning of the fast: the turn from self-centered desire toward total dependence on God. The relationship between fasting and almsgiving is equally important: The fast is not just for the self but for the other. My own Lenten fast saves me at least $25 a week in lunches and snacks, and I'm sure that's on the low end of many Americans' weekly expenditures for these items, children not excepted. Multiplying even that figure by a parish would result in a substantial sum to be earmarked for particular causes.

The Ash Wednesday liturgy begins with this passage from the prophet Joel (2:15-16): "Proclaim a fast, call an assembly, gather the people, notify the congregation!" Here, at the top of the Lenten liturgical agenda, is a call for a physical fast, and a corporate fast. It is a call that Muslims hear. Now it is time for the Catholic church to hear it again, too. □

Roger F. Repohl *teaches religious studies at the College of Mount Saint Vincent in Riverdale, New York.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FEMINISM & THE FAMILY

An indissoluble marriage

Mary Ann Glendon

In September 1995, I had the honor of heading the Vatican delegation to the United Nations' Fourth Conference on Women held in Beijing. The conference's mandate was "Action for Equality, Development, and Peace." To what extent the conference advanced that mandate is open to question. I will try to explain why we seem to have seen so little progress toward those goals.

Beijing and the Old Feminism

As news reports indicated, there were actually two women's conferences in China in September 1995: the official UN conference where delegates and negotiators from 181 member states produced the final version of the document known as the Beijing Program of Action; and a larger, more colorful, unofficial conference held several miles away. This second conference was the NGO conference (nongovernmental organizations). The official conference was attended by 5,000 persons; the NGO conference was attended by 30,000.

The word "conference" in both cases is somewhat misleading. UN conferences would be more accurately described as dispersed negotiating sessions. Their main aim is to put the final touches on a document that has been circulating for years in draft form. To do this, the delegates split up into groups to go over different sections of the document, paragraph by paragraph, trying to reach consensus on the final text that will be submitted for approval when the whole group comes together on the last day. As for the so-called NGO conference with its 30,000 participants, you wouldn't be far wrong if you translated "conference" in that setting as "lobbyists' headquarters," and "NGO" as "special-interest group."

Like most UN conference documents, the statement that emerged after two weeks of negotiations was a set of nonbinding guidelines for future action. The Beijing statement set a UN record for length at 125 pages, single-spaced. The document contains many very fine proposals regarding women's access to education and employment, and the feminization of poverty. But it is marred by two serious defects.

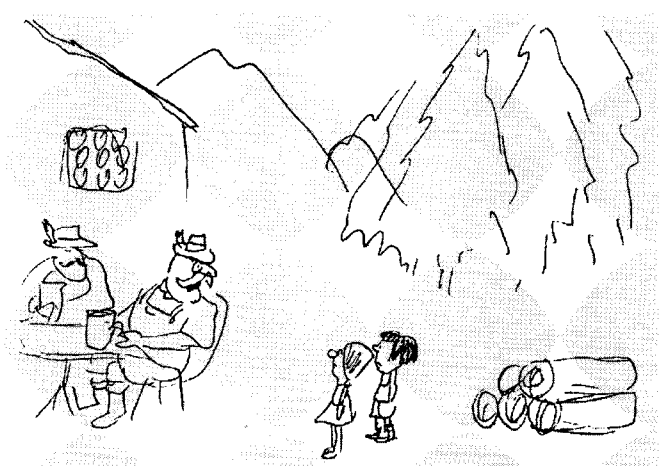
Mary Ann Glendon *is the Learned Hand Professor of Law at Harvard University. Her most recent book is* A Nation under Lawyers *(Harvard University Press). This article is adapted from a talk given to the Berkshire County Pregnancy Assistance Association.*

The first is that the best parts of the Beijing program—especially the ones I just mentioned—are the most likely to remain dead letters because they require funding. If there was anything that united the rich countries at Beijing, it was their successful fight to keep out any language that would commit them to back up their fine promises with material resources.

The second defect also involves something that was left out. It is nothing short of amazing, in a world where over eight out of ten women have children, that a 125-page program of action produced at a *women's* conference barely mentions marriage, motherhood, or family life!

The reaction of most women to this document, I suspect, would be similar to that of a young Nigerian law student who wrote me recently. She couldn't afford to go to the conference, but she tried to follow it closely from afar. She was disappointed, she said, that the conference had paid so little attention to the problems that the majority of the world's women struggle with on a daily basis. She was surprised, for example, that the section on women's health was focused almost entirely on women's reproductive systems. She wondered why it didn't address the health of the whole woman, particularly the problems of poor nutrition, sanitation, and tropical disease that have a disproportionate impact on women. (Keep in mind that women and girls compose 70 percent of the world's poverty population.)

And even the treatment of reproductive health in the document is strange, since it focuses almost entirely on birth con-



"Get lost, Hansel and Gretel!"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trol and abortion—as though reproductive health did not include pregnancy and childbirth.

How are these omissions to be explained? For the answer, you only have to look at the original draft document prepared by the UN Committee on the Status of Women. In the few places where the drafting committee mentioned marriage, motherhood, or family life, these aspects of women's lives were described in a negative way—as sources of oppression, or as obstacles to women's progress. In other words, what we had to work with in Beijing was a document whose defects corresponded rather closely to the defects of 1970s' feminism. A negative attitude toward men and marriage and the same lack of attention to the problems of women who are mothers were starkly evident.

The conference document is not legally binding. It is in the form of "international standards" against which UN member states are supposed to measure their conduct. So why all the fuss and lobbying about a set of nonbinding guidelines?

The main reason is this: Government agencies and private foundations tend to use these UN documents (I should say, selected parts of these documents) to justify the way they run their foreign and domestic programs. That means that, when they announce policies and set conditions, they don't have to invoke the modern version of the golden rule ("We've got the gold, so we make the rules"). It sounds so much better to say: "We follow guidelines established by international consensus." *But the bottom line is that millions of people's lives are affected by a kind of rule-making as far removed as possible from public scrutiny and democratic participation.*

That fact makes these UN conferences magnets for all sorts of special-interest groups, especially those who want to do an end-run around ordinary political processes. It's tempting for them to try to plant their agendas in a long, unreadable document, behind closed doors at a conference held in some faraway place. (When I say closed doors, I mean that literally. All the negotiating sessions in Beijing were closed to the public and the press.)

The Beijing conference offers two lessons for those of us who are concerned with women's issues in the '90s. First, beware of policies manufactured far away from public scrutiny, and without input from the people most concerned. Second, it seems to me the conference was more about the women's ideology of the '70s than about women's issues in the '90s. Beijing was like a Woodstock reunion. Moreover, it showed that the handwriting is on the wall for the peculiar form of feminism that held sway in the 1960s and 1970s. And the message on the wall is the same that was written in the Book of Daniel: "You have been weighed in the balance and found wanting."

That point was reinforced for me by the conversations I had with my students when I returned from Beijing. The very first question the women law students asked had never occurred to me. "What was the average age of the women at the conference?" Looking back, I realized that there was almost no one there under forty. Most were in their late forties, fifties, or sixties. Many, like Bella Abzug and Betty Friedan, were older.

Incidentally, I find it amusing that the attitudes of my women students' toward legendary figures like Abzug and Friedan are similar to the way my generation thought about Susan B. Anthony and the suffragettes. We admired them for securing the vote for women, but we didn't identify with them. To us, they seemed quaint, and a bit strange. Similarly, my students seem grateful to the second-wave women's movement for the educational and employment opportunities they now enjoy, but they're ready to move on to new frontiers. In the opinion polls of the '90s, when women are asked, "Do you consider yourself a feminist?" two-thirds of American women answer no. What's even more striking is the response of younger women. Among college women in their twenties, four out of five say they do not consider themselves feminists.

What is the message that large majorities of women are sending to organized feminism? Betty Friedan herself, I believe, has read it correctly. The message seems to be that official feminism hasn't been listening to the women who are too busy to be in movements, that it is out of touch with the real-life concerns of most women today. In a recent *New Yorker* article, Friedan urges feminists to wake up to the fact that "the most urgent concerns of women today are not gender issues but jobs and families." And whom did we see on the cover of *Time* magazine as the key voter in the 1996 elections? An exhausted, frazzled, working mother. The issue on her mind? Job and family.

I've observed a similar shift in attitude even among my career-oriented law students. Law schools were strongholds of feminism in the late '70s when women were a minority. But now that women make up nearly half the student body (and are more representative of the female population), I hear much more concern about how you can have a decent family life without suffering excessive career disadvantages. And, most significant of all, in my view, is that this worry seems to be bothering the young men almost as much as it concerns the women.

The signs of shifting attitudes among men lead to a point I'll discuss later on: the sense in which women's issues of the '90s are everybody's issues. But first, it must be noted that many issues confront men and women in significantly different ways, especially where the women concerned are, or hope to be, mothers. Let me give you some examples of that differential impact.

Women's Issues of the '90s

A major issue for the women's movement of the 1970s was the "gender gap" between men's and women's wages. You may recall we used to hear that for every dollar earned by a man, a woman made 60 cents. Today, women's opportunities have improved to the point where there is virtually

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

no gender gap between the earnings of women and men *who have made similar life choices*. Among young adults who have never had children, women's earnings are now nearly 98 percent of men's earnings.

But something is wrong with that picture. Why do we talk about women in the abstract when the great majority of women (about 85 percent in the United States) are mothers? The women who are disadvantaged in the workplace are not women in the abstract, but women who are raising children. And the real income gap in this country is between child-raising families and other types of households.

Another good example of the different form that the work-family dilemma takes for men and women is what happens when a child-raising family is broken up by divorce. (Keep in mind here that the majority of all divorces, 57 percent, involve couples with children under sixteen.) There is no doubt that the rise in divorce has had a disproportionate effect on women. After divorce it is nearly always the mother who remains primarily responsible for the physical care of the children; the father's standard of living typically rises, while that of the mother and children declines—in all too many cases below the poverty line.

To put it another way, motherhood in our society is a pretty risky occupation. Ironically, women in the abstract have never had more rights, but rarely has the position of mothers been more precarious. Women have tried to protect themselves and their children against the risks they face in two ways: They're having fewer children, and they're maintaining at least a foothold in the labor force even when their children are very young. But that strategy still does not protect them very well against what we might call the four deadly Ds: disrespect for unpaid work in the home; disadvantages in the workplace for anyone who takes time out for family responsibilities; divorce; and destitution, a condition that afflicts so many female-headed families.

Motherhood in our society is a pretty risky occupation. Ironically, women in the abstract have never had more rights, but rarely has the position of mothers been more precarious.

As if that were not enough, many women now find themselves facing what might be called "Work-Family Dilemma II": no sooner has the last child left home than the needs of aging parents start the process of juggling job and family responsibilities all over again.

The fact is that we are in a situation where the experience of past generations gives little guidance. Now that most women are in the labor force, no one has yet come up with a good solution to the problem of who performs the caretaking work for children and for the elderly that women used to do, for free. The idea of some social conservatives is that women should "just stay home" (unless they're welfare mothers, in which case off to work they must go). I can't help thinking that the "just stay home" idea is a bit like what the chicken said to the pig when they were trying to think what they could give Old MacDonald for a birthday present. The chicken said: "How about a nice breakfast of bacon and eggs—I'll provide the eggs and you give the bacon." You can see why the pig was not enthusiastic about that division of labor.

Another set of problems that will have a disparate impact on women is just beginning to come into view. Thanks to medical advances, we have never had such a large elderly population. As you know, that group includes more women than men. At the same time, we know that much of the burden of supporting that population will fall on the shoulders of a labor force that is growing proportionately smaller.

Against that background, a real concern about the assisted-suicide movement is the pressure that is going to be exerted on elderly people in failing health to cease using up scarce resources. When you consider that three out of four poor Americans over sixty-five are women, you can see that this is yet another issue that is everybody's issue, but that will affect women in a special way. It is sobering to think that more than two-thirds of the people Dr. Jack Kevorkian has helped to die are women.

Assisted suicide also involves the political problem mentioned earlier in connection with Beijing—the question of who settles whose hash. The "right to die" (like the right to abortion) is being pushed mainly by the kind of people who are accustomed to having a lot of control over their lives. The outcome of the debate over this issue is likely to be determined by judges—who are also people who are used to having a lot of control over their lives.

To privileged folks, the right to die may look like an aspect of personal freedom—a way of feeling in control until the very end. In the case of such people, it may well work out that way. But how is it going to work out for the less fortunate, the people who are in the most danger of being regarded as burdensome to their families and a drag on the taxpayers of the welfare state? What is a "right to die" for some may well become a "duty to die" for others. And if that happens, women, again, will be most affected.

Consider the ways in which, despite the disparate impact on women, all these problems are everybody's problems. One of the main sources of discontent with the old feminism was the way it set women and men at odds with one another. Now we're beginning to realize that we're all in this thing together. In the world of work, men as well as women are increasingly chafing under pressures to put the demands of the job ahead of the needs of their families. Both men and women are increasingly realizing that feminists have always had a strong point when they complained that society gives little respect or security to people who make sacrifices for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dixie Partridge

South Slopes in Winter: The Rockies, after Years

From this distance you need
only accept with the shamefaced moon
the silvered stems of white birch
and aspen, emptied and beautiful...
little more to lose.

And when the winter sun tightens
like a drumhead,
no longer strain to listen
for its mute stroke,
rewarming echo. The shrinking air
has always told you
less is needed.

Snail into your coats and skin
and relearn silence
from the banks of the river
where water sheets like metal.
Return with spring rains,
drench up the sound
like applause.

their children and families. Ironically, the '70s feminists bought into that disrespect. By treating marriage and motherhood as obstacles to women's progress, they actually helped to reinforce the idea that the only work that counts is work for pay outside the home.

But while feminists were maintaining, correctly, that society doesn't respect work in the home, things were changing in the workplace outside the home. In all too many ways the new globalized economy is sending the same message to working men and women that society once sent to homemakers: that they and the work they do are not worthy of much respect.

Monsignor George Higgins, a longtime advocate of the rights of workers, asked some important questions in a recent speech. When a profitable company "downsizes," doesn't that tell dedicated employees that their years of service don't really count for much? When employees' wages stagnate while their companies prosper, aren't working people being told that their effort and skill aren't valued? And when benefits like health insurance and pensions are cut back, doesn't that tell working people that nobody cares what happens when they get sick and old? To those questions, you might add: What scale of values rewards some CEOs to the tune of $200 million a year (head of Disney) while moms and dads must work harder than ever to counter a relative decline in real family income?

All these are men's and women's issues. They are family issues. They are issues about what kind of society we want to try to hand on to future generations. Something is wrong when most jobs are too rigidly structured to accommodate family responsibilities. Something is wrong when we frame laws and policies as though human beings existed to serve the economy, rather than the other way round. In the long run, that's not even good for the economy. To spell out the obvious: a healthy economy requires a certain kind of work force, with certain skills and qualities of character. And those qualities—honesty, a work ethic, and the ability to cooperate with others—are going to be acquired, for the most part, in the nation's families or not at all.

Having said that, it is not easy to imagine what can be done about all this. Some factors, such as worldwide economic developments, may be outside the control of any one country. Other factors, let's admit it, are more related to the materialistic excesses of a consumer society than to basic family needs. We Americans do have a tendency to want to "have it all." But anyone who has tried to combine work and family life knows that we can't have it all. You're always short-changing somebody somewhere—one day it's the job, the next it's your spouse, or your children. The grown-up question is not can all our dreams come true. The real question is whether we can do better than we're doing now. Is it possible to harmonize women's and men's roles in social and economic life with their desires (and their children's needs) for a decent family life?

I would say it's possible—but that the prospects are dim, unless society as a whole is prepared to recognize that when mothers and fathers raise their children well, they are not just doing something for themselves and their own children, but for all of us. Governments, private employers, and fellow citizens would all have to recognize that we all owe an enormous debt to parents who do a good job raising their children under today's difficult conditions. There's something heroic about the everyday sacrifices that people have to make these days just to do the right thing by their nearest and dearest.

What is to be done?

The above observations bring me to the realm of politics. I want to focus on one basic problem: the problem of how American men and women can gain a say in the decisions that shape their lives and livelihoods—a voice in our jobs, in our children's education, in our communities, and in the direction our country is taking.

Is that problem soluble? A glance around the social land-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

scape is not particularly reassuring. Something is terribly wrong when Americans from every viewpoint and every walk of life are beginning to feel that the forces that govern our economic and political lives have spun out of control; and when parents feel that they are losing the struggle for the hearts and minds of their own children.

There has been much speculation about why Americans seem uninterested in voting and in the electoral process generally. That disaffection just might have something to do with the perception that both political parties are out of touch with citizens' deepest concerns. Reporting on political party finances shows that that common perception isn't uninformed. Both political parties are heavily financed by big business—the Democrats by the kinds of businesses that make their livings from government, and the Republicans by the kinds of businesses that just want government to butt out. Yes, the Democrats throw a few crumbs to working men and women. Yes, the Republicans throw a few crumbs to those who are concerned about the moral fabric of society. But it's been a long time since either party has done much for constituents whose main concerns are a decent job and decent conditions for raising a family.

My one suggestion for a possible solution to this problem is likely to make many people groan, but I can see no other alternative. Simply put, more of us have to take a more active role in politics. Frustration with a distant, unresponsive government is nothing new in America. Indeed, this nation was founded in the rejection of unresponsive government. The constitutional convention in Philadelphia produced an ingenious design for a republic with democratic elements. (Not a pure democracy, but a republic in which the democratic elements were extremely important.) To protect those democratic elements, the Bill of Rights specified that all powers not expressly delegated to the federal government, or forbidden to the states, are reserved to the states and the people. That's the forgotten part of the Bill of Rights—the Tenth Amendment. You'll wait a long time before you hear a peep about the powers reserved to the people from the groups that are self-appointed defenders of our civil liberties. Yet what liberty is more basic than the freedom to participate in setting the conditions under which we live, work, and raise our families?

Now it seems that many people are tempted to give up on the idea that we, especially at the local level, can help to make things better. They're tempted to give up on the idea that we could ever take back democratic institutions; that we could ever restore decision-making power to the many who have the most to lose from the few who have the most to gain. But, to be honest, the women and men who have gone before us often faced much greater challenges than we do now. Do we really want to be the generation who didn't even try to turn things around? After all, this isn't Eastern Europe where the men and women who toppled authoritarian regimes are now struggling to build democratic government from scratch. We have the machinery at hand. We've had it for over 200 years. It's rusty, but it's there. Let's use it. □

COMMONWEAL

The Next Generation

The Commonweal Endowment

A message from Chairman Dennis O'Brien

In one way or another,
you've all heard about the Endowment.
It's all about
the future of this magazine.

Since we began two years ago,
we have received several generous gifts,
and we long for more.
Our goal is to raise $1 million
by the end of three years.
We have reached $300,000.

You who have been thinking
about this might think even harder
as we approach the summer.

Leadership Committee

Mig Boyle, Sidney Callahan, Thomas Donnelly, Rev. Robert Drinan, SJ, Msgr. George Higgins, Harry Isbell, Alice Mayhew, Abigail McCarthy, Margaret O'Brien Steinfels, Paul Saunders.

Friends of the Endowment

Robert Bellah, Cardinal Joseph Bernardin, Jill Ker Conway, William Ford, Eamon Kelly, John Leo, Frank Macchiarola, Rev. Edward Malloy, CSC, Edward Marciniak, Nina Polcyn Moore, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Rev. William Neenan, SJ, Michael Novak, Jason Robards, Jane Wyatt Ward, Archbishop Rembert G. Weakland, OSB.

A message to Dennis O'Brien:
Please call me.
My name and phone number:

COMMONWEAL
15 Dutch Street, New York, NY 10038 • 212-732-0800

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Richard Alleva

CHARACTER AMID CHAOS

'Some Mother's Son'

Some Mother's Son, the latest movie about the everlasting Irish troubles, manages a singular feat of equipoise. It is both angry and human, politically partisan yet emotionally just. What the music critic Alex Ross recently wrote of a Kurt Weill opera perfectly describes this film: "The scenario contains politics, but it does not hawk them." To be sure, held up for contempt are Margaret Thatcher and her policy of treating IRA prisoners purely as criminals rather than as prisoners of war. But the real subject of writer Jim Sheridan and writer-director Terry George is the way a riven land produces emotionally riven people, and how such people, trying to mend their torn lives, find themselves making strange alliances and going to unwonted places, geographically and psychologically.

At the movie's center are two widowed mothers: the music teacher Mrs. Quigley and the working-class Mrs. Higgins. Mrs. Higgins (Fionnuala Flanagan) not only approves of her son Frankie being an IRA member, she even runs errands for the terrorists. (She's already lost one boy to British bullets.) But Mrs. Quigley (Helen Mirren) is dumbfounded when her son Jared is arrested for participating with Frankie in an act of sabotage. Learning that the resisted arrest has left an English soldier dead, Mrs. Quigley denounces her son's rationalization of the killing as a casualty of war, insisting that the dead man, too, was "some mother's son." That is her moral position: no murder is justified by political expedience; all life is sacred. Though not necessarily against Irish independence, she's perfectly willing to work within the legal *status quo* to mitigate her son's punishment. Mrs. Higgins, by contrast, though equally anxious to save her son, can't conceive of any satisfactory conclusion but the defeat of the British and the Protestant Irish. When both boys (strictly fictional characters) take part in the true-life prison hunger strike that made world headlines in 1981, the mothers work together, first as uneasy allies and later as mutually supportive friends. Though there are several scenes inside the prison dramatizing the protest, the burden of the film is to show the two women exploring all possibilities of relief available within the state, the Catholic church, and the political underground, thereby making startling discoveries about the mortal consequences of politics and even more startling discoveries about themselves. The law-abiding Mrs. Quigley finds herself drawing perilously close to the political arm of the IRA, Sinn Fein, while Mrs. Higgins has a hard time maintaining her vision of her enemies as subhuman.

But most of the story is experienced through Mrs. Quigley's eyes since it is the woman without ideology who is more observant of what is going on around her and can respond with greater flexibility to the possibilities thrown her way. Forced into the company of police and terrorists, she feels a sudden estrangement from order and sanity. When a courtroom is roughly cleared by police fearing a riot, our heroine is treated as part of the mob. She becomes sensible to the possibility of violence breaking out anywhere, any time. Tire blow-outs sound like gunshots; ordinary buildings can (and do) house underground cells. Her son's affectionate farewell kiss in the prisoners' visiting room turns shockingly oedipal as he presses his lips on hers but, no less shockingly, the seeming passion proves only an attempt to shift a secret message from his mouth to hers so that she may transmit it to IRA headquarters.

"Mother, please!"

To be used as an unwilling conduit for information is to be used as pure means. And to be used this way by her own child, whose total existence issued out of her total existence, turns Mrs. Quigley into an exile from her own conception of herself as secure mother of a stable family. She must fight her way home by holding onto the deepest knowledge that is in her, the knowledge that no matter what ideals individuals choose to serve, they themselves, like all humans, are always more than the ideals. Near the end of the movie, when she and her children are taking part in a protest march, the police break it up and once again Mrs. Quigley is treated not as a person but as part of a lawless sea of bodies. Her little boy starts to hurl a rock but his mother stops him. She won't let him stone a uniform because there is a man inside that uniform. Whether or not she can save her imprisoned child, Mrs. Quigley has saved her soul.

Taking the directorial helm for, as far as I know, the first time, Terry George as yet lacks the gift for staging violent action that his collaborator Jim Sheridan demonstrated in *In the Name of the Father*. (The cross-cutting between some girls stomping out a folk dance at school and a terrorist-police collision is of TV movie banality.) Yet George is already a master at inventing images that show what people are thinking. Washing a window, Mrs. Quigley hears a radio report that the very member of Parliament most likely to aid her son has died of a heart attack.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

She freezes as the water streams down the glass. But before the soapy rivulets turn into a corny metaphor of dissolving hopes, Helen Mirren's strong face comes out of shock and composes itself into lines of determination. Briskly, she wipes the window clean and clear. She *will* do something.

Everyone in the cast is good but all depends upon the two female leads, and they prove without fissure. As Mrs. Higgins, Fionnuala Flanagan, who, two decades ago, played Molly Bloom to Zero Mostel's Leopold in the Broadway production of *Ulysses in Nighttown*, has become something very rare: a credible earth mother. With her there is no ostentatious roughness or strenuously manufactured peasant dignity, but rather the suggestion of an internal fortress erected by years of suffering, brooded-upon wrongs, constantly imperiled mother-love. Once delicately beautiful, Flanagan's face now has massive, granitic strength. But it's a granite that can turn into suffering flesh at any tragic moment.

By contrast, Helen Mirren's face and talent are always the most delicate of registers. When Mrs. Quigley is about to enter the prison's visiting room for the first time, Mirren communicates more than the mother's worry and concern for her son. She pauses in the doorway and looks about the room in disbelief. This room can't be a real place in her life, can it? What has her son to do with crime and prison? And how has she become a criminal's mother? In short, what Mirren does in a few seconds is to give us a taste of the nightmare that her character is just about to enter.

The climax of the movie presents a withdrawal from that nightmare. Mrs. Quigley sees the faces of priest and terrorist and politician flushed with anger; she sees their lips move as they scream out their demands and refusals, but she cannot hear their words. Nor can we, for the director has cannily turned off the soundtrack to let us feel what our heroine experiences: the complete loss of faith in men who can only use other men as bargaining chips. Then she does something that turns her son from such a bargaining chip back into a human being. When she informs Mrs. Higgins of her action, the latter replies, "Somebody had to do it. You're lucky you had the choice." But why is Mrs. Higgins without choice? Why is Mrs. Quigley the free agent? Because Mrs. Quigley can still see a man inside a uniform and can stop a child from stoning that man.

Though intensely political themselves, Terry George and Jim Sheridan have made a movie that, in some sense, despairs of politics or, at least, of a politics that can't embrace life but only uses individuals as stepping stones to power. □

MEDIA

John D. Spalding

THE VIDEO MESSIAH

Salvation at the touch of the remote

While TV shopping for ab rollers, psychic phone pals, baldness cures, and diets guaranteed to make me lose thirty pounds in thirty days, I've sometimes asked myself when televangelists were going to break into infomercials. They have the talent for it, they have outlets, and they are not coy about asking for money.

My question got an answer this past summer from none other than the Reverend Jerry Falwell, when I discovered him on cable delivering what at first appeared to be a fire-and-brimstone sermon on heeding God's call. "Let the truths of God's Word," he urged, "the truths that have guided kings and princes and presidents and shoeshine boys for centuries, invade your life!" But when he started reciting lines like "act now" and "just four easy payments, all major credit cards accepted," I began to realize that this was not Falwell's standard Sunday broadcast from the Thomas Road Baptist Church in Lynchburg, Virginia.

No: it was a half-hour pitch for Falwell's "brand new and revolutionary" Institute of Biblical Studies—"the finest biblical studies program ever developed." The Institute, I learned, is a six-videocassette study series that, "in just twelve hours of anointed teaching," explains everything you will ever need to know about the Bible "from Genesis to Revelations." "This new program," Falwell beamed, "actually allows you to go to Bible college right in your own home." Why is it so special? "Because twenty-five years ago I founded Liberty University, and I can assure you this program was developed from the exact same material used in the world-famous introductory courses here at Liberty. That's how good the Institute of Biblical Studies is!"

An infomercial is effective if it argues compellingly that a product is: (a) essential; (b) easy to use; and (c) affordable. By these standards, Falwell's pitch rated an A plus. First, necessity: "The Institute teaches you wisdom, it teaches you character traits that can actually help you succeed in business or at home. I'm telling you from my heart, if you are going to do just one thing this year, take one step to improve yourself, I urge you to take advantage of this special introductory offer." Next, simplicity: "I want to make it abundantly clear that we have absolutely gone out of our way to make this simple enough, and easy enough, so that anyone can complete it, regardless of age, educational background, or any other factor." Finally, cost: "If you went to Bible college, not only would you have to commute back and forth to school, but you would probably pay well over $1,000 in tuition costs alone. [The Institute of Bible Studies] is only $295—that's less than a dollar a day for a year of study!"

Partly to satisfy my curiosity, partly in my self-appointed role as consumer watchdog, I bit. Because I ordered right away, I received a special $100 "scholarship," plus an extra discount for pay-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing the whole cost at once, via my credit card. The package arrived promptly: six videos and a sixty-two-page study guide which included not only "helpful charts and maps" but the final exam I had to complete and return to earn a diploma. Even more helpfully, the guide also provided an answer key for the exam.

Three tapes each are given to the Old and New Testaments; the instructor is Dr. Ed Hindson, described by Falwell as "one of the greatest Bible teachers to ever teach the Word of God." Popping the first tape into my VCR, I was greeted by Dr. Hindson, a clean-cut, fortyish guy wearing a dark suit, bright red tie, and aviator glasses. Dr. Hindson outlined our mission: "When we sort out the difference between Abraham and Jacob, when we can tell the difference between a Hittite and a parasite, when we can tell the difference between Damascus and Babylon, all of a sudden you'll begin to realize these are real people, these are real places."

In the first lesson one learns that the world of Genesis was "a very different world than the world in which we live today." In those days, "people lived to be 900 years old" because there was a "vapor canopy" that enveloped the earth and "filtered out the infrared and ultraviolet rays and kept people from developing cancer and prevented fermentation from taking place." It was "a world in which dinosaurs could have survived" and "people could have grown to an enormous size. And yet all that changed with the flood."

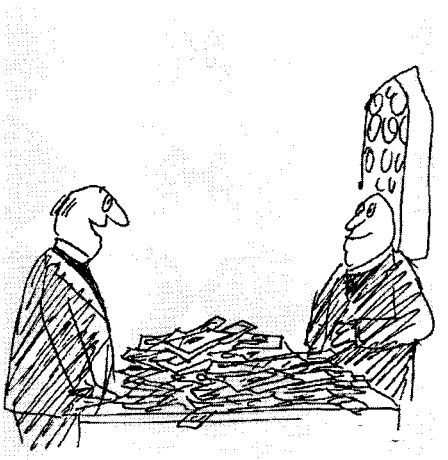
In later tapes I was told the deeper meaning of the Exodus story about how the Israelites painted their door posts with blood to prepare for their escape from Egypt. "They began, without even knowing it, to make the sign of the cross—the indication of the redemption through the blood atonement of Jesus Christ that shall ultimately come." I was given an answer to the liberal scholars who suggest that the Red Sea through which Moses led his people was only a knee-deep swamp: "You don't drown [Pharaoh's soldiers] in water that's knee deep!" The Book of Esther was neatly summarized: "...the story of how the Jews are spared by a young girl who wins a beauty contest."

The New Testament tapes offered similar insights into the people of Jesus' day. The Gnostics were "kind of like New Agers before there was the New Age." The Herodians were extremists, the Pharisees were compromisers, and the Sadducees were liberals: "They were 'sad, you-see,' because they didn't believe in the power of God."

It's on the tape—honest.

A notable difference in the tapes on the New Testament had to do with the larger quota of sermonizing. Speaking of Jesus, Dr. Hindson says, "You can study all about him and know all the details of his life, but until you know, in your own heart and soul and life—him personally, as your own lord and savior—it's just so much information. And I'd like to urge you, right now, before you go one step further, to take a moment to acknowledge your sinfulness, your need of a savior, your need of salvation, and give your life to the Lord Jesus Christ, who will come in the power of his spirit and indwell you with the glory and the power and the life of God himself." I have to acknowledge, in my sinfulness, that too many lengthy passages in this vein reminded me of the power of the fast-forward control.

The best parts of the program were the Q&A periods—"Tough Questions and Timely Answers," in which Falwell himself replies to questions in an auditorium filled with "Liberty's brightest students." He is as lively and engaging as ever, so that it is only from the students' stilted questions that you can tell these allegedly spontaneous sessions were completely staged.



"Just goes to show you, faith in the dollar is rewarded."

Q. "Were there dinosaurs on the ark?"

A. "I'm no scientist, but I believe that men and dinosaurs were here together. I don't know what caused the extinction of dinosaurs, but their remains are here and the fossils are evidence without question. So, I believe that there was a healthy pair of dinosaurs on the ark and that they took up as much space as they wanted."

Q. "How old is the earth?"

A. "I flip on the TV sometimes and there's Carl Sagan talking about something that happened 40 billion years ago. On another program there's some agnostic or atheist saying that this rock is four billion years old. And I cannot help but smile, because we have without a doubt a young earth. We have a record that the earth has been here 6,000 years....People forget that God created Adam a fully grown and mature man with age built in. So God could have very easily built in the strata and the carbon dating and the fossil evidence."

Q. "Is capital punishment correct today?"

A. "The Old Testament is very clear: 'An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.' But there are many who say that under the new covenant...there's no place for it because Christ died on the cross. But the fact is, his death on the cross is the greatest evidence that capital punishment is acceptable today. If ever there was a platform to cry out against capital punishment, our Lord had it on the cross."

"My dream, my vision," Falwell explained in the infomercial, "is to actually put this program—listen!—in the hands of 50,000 families and individuals. And what I am going to do to achieve this vision is to give [the special offer] to the first 50,000 people who pick up that phone."

At $159 each, that's a gross of some $8 million. It's an incredible deal. □

John D. Spalding's *writing has appeared in the* Christian Century *and other magazines.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Where even the ghosts keep silent

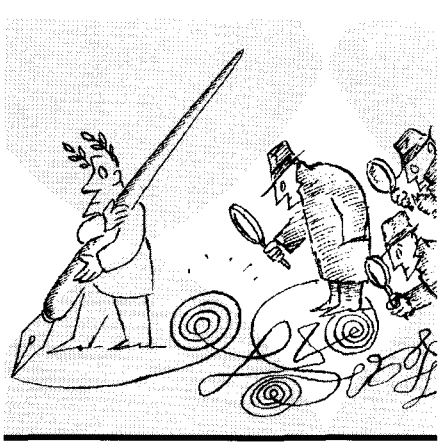
Dead Season
A Story of Murder and Revenge on the Philippine Island of Negros
Alan Berlow
Pantheon, $25, 320 pp.

José Magadia

When a work of nonfiction reads like a mystery thriller, it would be legitimate to suspect sensationalism—particularly if its author were a journalist, whose trade sharpens sensitivity to the spectacular. That is not, however, the case here. Alan Berlow, whose journalism has appeared in *Harper's* and the *New Republic*, offers a surprisingly subdued treatment of events which in other contexts would make for more dramatic reportage. It is this remarkable restraint in the exposition of egregious social injustice that invites the reader to cry out even more on behalf of the wronged.

First and foremost, *Dead Season* is, as its subtitle declares, "a story of murder and revenge on the Philippine island of Negros," of killings that took place in a barrio called Mambagaton, in the town of Himamaylan. At center stage was Reynaldo de los Santos, nicknamed "Moret," a peasant and a church lay leader. Moret, his wife, and three of his six children were ruthlessly slain as they lay sleeping, when Philippine Army scout rangers in knitted head masks strafed their house in the middle of the night in April 1989. Six months earlier, Serafin Gatuslao, a wealthy *haciendero* (a prominent landlord), was also killed in Mambagaton, along with two bodyguards, when Communist guerrillas of the New Peoples Army (NPA) ambushed their vehicle. Finally, there was Gerardo "Gerry" de los Santos, an Army scout ranger known to have been involved in the slaughter of Moret's family, killed just two weeks after the multiple murder. The official military report claimed he was killed in an NPA ambush, but very few people in Himamaylan believed that.

Berlow sets out to investigate and explain the de los Santos massacre, and to establish definitively what the people of Himamaylan knew: that all these deaths were somehow linked. And he does a terrific job of it—conducting what must have been hundreds of individual interviews in Negros, Manila, and other parts of the Philippines; plowing through local newspapers and military files; and bravely immersing himself in the almost unreal world of rural feudal Philippines. Here is a truly impressive work of investigative journalism. Yet in the end, Berlow can confirm little with absolute assurance, and the mystery of the murders of Mambagaton (which appropriately means the place of the ghosts) remains unsolved. Berlow states: "Indeed, by the time I left, I felt as though I'd just stepped out of Juan Rulfos's surreal novel, *Pedro Páramo*, in which all of the characters are dead, but that in Mambagaton, the sad and bitter truth is that



injustice has been so embedded that even the ghosts are mummed into silence and the truth is kept hidden in the darkness of people's fears."

Given the circumstances, it is not difficult to understand that all that the author could do was gather fragments of the truth and arrange them as best he could, like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle which he knew would never be completed. The histories of the lives and families of Moret, Gerry, and Don Serafin are retold, and in so doing the story of the people of the island of Negros also comes to life somehow, however sketchily. The goings-on in the anachronistic fiefdom of the sugar *hacienda* are described in detail, as the poverty of the peasantry is contrasted sharply with the affluence of their masters. Around this inequality, a whole social system has been erected and fortified through the years, ruled not by rational law but by coercion from "a revolving cast of vigilantes, fanatical cultists, Communist revolutionaries, private armies, and the military." In such a situation, the poor could only seek refuge in their local myths and superstitions, in the passion for cockfighting, or the serialized soap operas broadcast over the radio. Even their religious faith is partly an escape from the harshness of their existence, a way to soften its blows and numb its pains, or to make believe that nothing is really wrong.

After reading *Dead Season*, it also becomes easier to understand that the violence the people of Himamaylan have learned to live with is not just the byproduct of the social structure, but also somehow an escape from it. And in the end, the search for truth and justice on behalf of the dead of Mambagaton simply becomes too difficult—impossible almost—as the culture of violence thrives and learns to protect itself, and plunges

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the populace further into an extended "dead season," or *tiempo muerto*, as it is known locally. This refers to that period from May to September, between harvest and the planting of the new crop, when thousands of workers are without work and without income, and their children go without food most of the time; thus, its other name is *tiempo tinggulotom* or starvation time.

No one has ever been brought to justice for any of the killings in Mambagaton. Sadly indeed, political violence in general has gone unpunished in the Philippines. In Berlow's desperate search for answers, though, he points the accusing finger at then-President Corazon Aquino, more than anyone else, for her inaction, her allergy to criticism, her inability to govern. This is a bit unfortunate because, while Aquino's weaknesses cannot be denied, the more overwhelming reality is that the situation in the Philippines has so deteriorated that the blaming of any single individual cannot but be tainted with injustice as well.

Finally, it is more the very retelling of the stories of Mambagaton that effectively constitutes a powerful indictment of Philippine society and politics: of a national government that continues proudly to declare its adherence to constitutional democracy, economic growth, and social justice, while conveniently brushing aside the problems of its needy majority; of a Communist rebel movement that has also resorted to victimizing the poor in the name of the people; of the media that have helped breed complacency; and of the powerful institutional Catholic church that has stifled the voices of some of its own pastors who have championed greater social equality and justice. And for many others, this is yet another reminder that the concerns of globalization, trade liberalization, and fast-paced technological progress cannot ignore the fact that there are still many parts of the world where more basic life-and-death issues cannot be and are not taken for granted. □

José Magadia, S.J., *is a graduate student in political science at Columbia University. He is presently doing research in his native Philippines.*

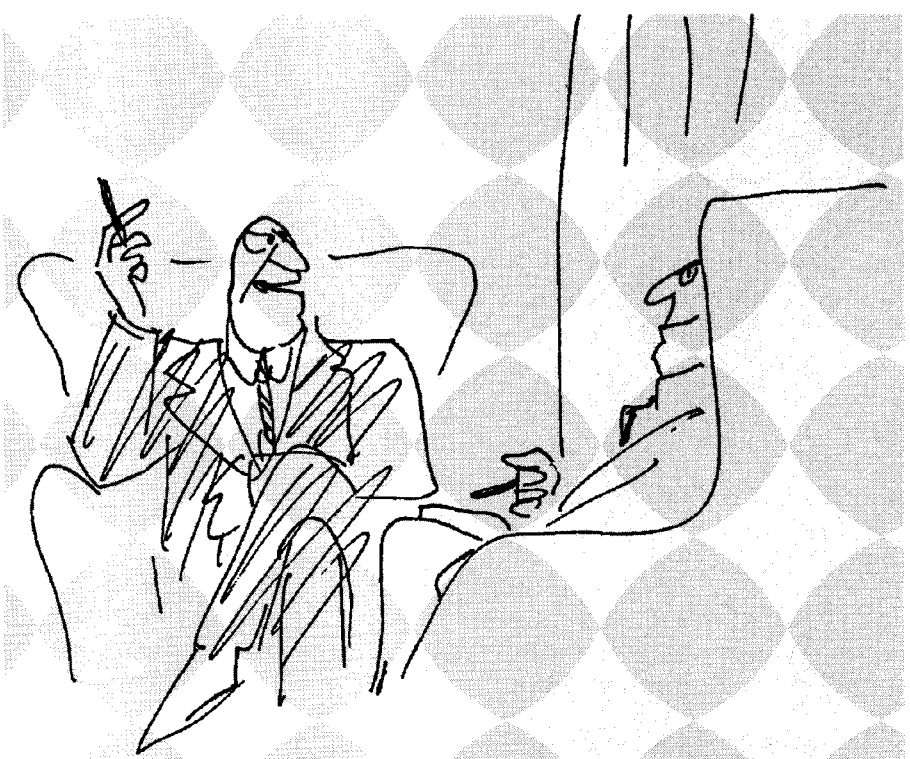
UNION Bbusting

Epitaph for American Labor
How Union Leaders Lost Touch with America
Max Green
The American Enterprise Institute Press, $24.95, 206 pp.

George G. Higgins

I have been waiting a long time to hear what the neoconservative fraternity thinks about the American labor movement. In recent years their silence on this subject has, by and large, been deafening. But a relative newcomer to their ranks, Max Green, has broken that silence with the publication of *Epitaph for American Labor*. The book is published, appropriately enough, by the flagship think tank of the neoconservative movement, the American Enterprise Institute, and has been launched with predictably extravagant "blurbs" by four leading neoconservatives. (Curiously, although the book deals with American labor history, it carries no jacket endorsements by labor historians—more about that in a moment.)

Green argues that until the 1980s the American labor movement, faithful to the principles set forth by its founding father, Samuel Gompers, had renounced not only political radicalism but cultural radicalism as well, but that since then it has been advocating policies that are fundamentally inconsistent with competitive capitalism. Specifically, Green charges that, since the 1980s, American labor has mobilized the race- and gender-based policies of the civil rights, feminist, and gay rights movements; and is bent on challenging the pursuit of U.S. interests abroad. In particular it



"Are you kidding? Of course I believe in the nobility of the cause!"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

opposes strengthening free-market economies through free trade and other means.

In short, Green concludes that, as currently constituted and led, the movement no longer serves the public or the national interest. It has condemned itself, he says, to a life on the leftward fringe of American politics.

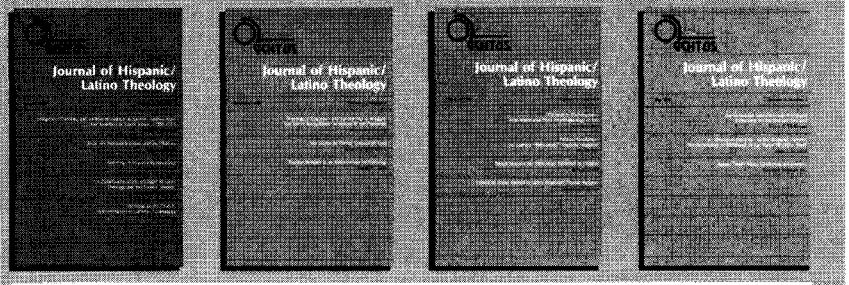
All of Green's charges can be subsumed under that basic complaint. American labor, along with many others, advocates policies that are fundamentally inconsistent with competitive capitalism.

Political analyst Michael Barone, in his laudatory foreword to Green's book, goes directly to the heart of the matter. He admits that Green really does not subscribe to the Gompers tradition after all, but, to the contrary, believes "the Gompers enterprise was fundamentally flawed, based on a misunderstanding of economics." Barone adds that, "over the past thirty years, market economics has seen a great resurgence in the academy and in the political arena. This has put at grave disadvantage the American labor movement, which since Gompers has never believed in market economics." What this means in practical terms is that, faithful to the Gompers tradition but to the dismay of both Green and Barone, American labor has consistently rejected the notion that labor is just another commodity in the market and has insisted that wages in some measure be taken out of the market matrix through collective bargaining and/or appropriate legislation. In registering this basic complaint about the movement, Green cites Michael Novak on the virtues of what he calls free labor in a free market. In Novak's words, as quoted by Green, "The precise quality which Marx sees as so inhuman—that labor is treated as a commodity—...[is] the condition of its multiple possibilities of employment and reward, under conditions of mobility. Thus free men will necessarily trade their labor so as to obtain what they deserve."

Novak, according to Green, "considers himself a friend of the American labor movement, but the principle he upholds is inconsistent with labor's view since its beginning." It is indeed, and, as Barone points out, that's precisely why Green thinks that "the decline of organized labor is a good thing."

The word "epitaph" in Green's title is meant to be taken literally. The dictionary definition of the word is "a funeral oration" or "an inscription on a tomb in memory of the one buried there." In other words, Green has come not to reform the labor movement but to bury it once and for all. Moreover, he makes it perfectly clear that, in his view, the movement will not and *should* not be revived. Green's subtitle, "How Union Leaders Lost Touch with America," might suggest to some that in his view the movement could conceivably be revived or resuscitated under better leadership. But they would be misreading the basic thesis of his book. His purpose is to prove (if only to his own satisfaction) that unions are no longer needed, thanks to the beneficent work-

Journal of Hispanic/Latino Theology



Following the highest standards of scholarship in professional theology, *JHLT* publishes research results and provides for the ongoing discussion of issues concerning the Christian community today. It reflects the ideas that affect and/or enrich U.S. Latino theology and welcomes non-theological scholarship that helps to further understand the religious life and expressions of U.S. Latinos.

Given the great need for Hispanic theological texts for ministerial training, *JHLT* shows sensitivity to the pastoral agent's needs and questions without compromising the journal's academic standards.

JHLT is published quarterly in English and for a professional audience by the Academy of Catholic Hispanic Theologians of the United States (ACHTUS), thanks to a grant from the Lilly Endowment. It is our hope that the theological insights and arguments developed in the pages of each issue will contribute to the ongoing dialogue among scholars in all fields interested in the North American Hispanic/Latino religious experience.

"With the appearance of the *Journal of Hispanic/Latino Theology*, one of the largest and most ancient communities of the American Roman Catholic Church will have recovered their professional voices. . . . It is a hopeful sign of the maturation of the American Catholic community."
Gary Macy
Professor of Theology and Church History
University of San Diego

Subscription: $26.00, one year (four issues); $49.00, two years
Foreign: $30.00, one year; $57.00, two years
Libraries: $40.00, one year

Journal of Hispanic/Latino Theology
St. John's Abbey, P.O. Box 7500 • Collegeville, MN 56321-7500
Call 1-800-858-5450, ext. 2223 or fax 1-800-445-5899

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ings of the free market, and that their demise is a blessing to the nation and to workers. In my fifty-odd years of reading voraciously in the field of labor economics and labor history, I have never seen this thesis stated as bluntly as Green frames it on the very last page of his book: "America today is more than ever an equal opportunity society, where individuals can rise on their merits, a condition that makes unions irrelevant."

In the light of Green's straightforward conclusion that unions under a system of democratic capitalism are irrelevant, I must admit to being somewhat confused by Michael Novak's carefully worded "blurb" for the book. Novak says that Green's "point is to launch a revivifying argument." Not so. To repeat, Green has come not to revivify the movement but to bury it. Moreover, he has come to bury it, not with what Novak describes as "at times a lover's sorrow," but rather with genuine satisfaction at labor's permanent demise.

Novak's AEI colleague, Irving Kristol, often called the godfather of the neoconservative movement, has also endorsed Green's book. He calls it "the best history of American trade unionism yet written." That's a bit much, even for Kristol. I say this as one who, fifty years ago, wrote a doctoral dissertation in American labor history and can modestly claim to have read almost every significant book or monograph on this subject published during the intervening years.

"Blurbs," of course, are not meant to be taken too seriously. Blurb writers indulge in poetic license and exaggerate the merits of the book they are praising—especially one written by a friend or, in this case, by an ideological soulmate. But having mentioned labor history, Kristol might have added for the record that Green's is probably the only labor history ever published that congratulates Andrew Carnegie for having ruthlessly broken the bloody Homestead strike at the end of the last century.

Be that as it may, I find Kristol's grossly exaggerated praise more than a bit disturbing. It confirms my long-standing suspicion that all too many neoconservatives are anti-union—not merely critical of existing unions, but opposed to unions on principle. Like Green, they seem to believe that, given the success of democratic capitalism, unions have completely outlived their usefulness. In my opinion, that's a delusion—a form of dangerous wishful thinking which, by the way, contradicts the customary emphasis of neoconservatives on the in-

Laborer in the vineyard

Fighter with a Heart
Writings of Charles Owen Rice, Pittsburgh Labor Priest
Edited by Charles J. McCollester
University of Pittsburgh Press, $19.95, paper, 242 pp.

Patrick Jordan

For over sixty years, Monsignor Charles Owen Rice has been the quintessential labor priest: on the right side of every picket line and at the head of every march for justice and peace in western Pennsylvania. The title of this collection of his laser-eyed columns, gleaned mostly from the *Pittsburgh Catholic*, is inadequate. Rice has been a fighter who employed far more than his eighty-seven-year-old heart: a quick mind, Irish tongue, steadfast will, right spirit, and apparently sturdy bones.

Should a young academic, under the spell of the present *laissez-faire* tide, be tempted to rewrite the history of American labor to discredit it as a misguided or outdated cause, he could do no better than to seek out Rice as fact checker and father confessor. For he would save himself considerable (and perhaps eternal) embarrassment. Rice was there when much of twentieth-century labor history was happening, not in the library but in the homes of workers, in the steel mills, in mining towns and automobile plants, and even in cemeteries and Catholic hospitals. This volume juxtaposes his crisp reports from those dramatic times with later reflections. The latter not only contextualize earlier events but broaden—sometimes even alter—Rice's own youthful enthusiasms and judgments.

Rice was/is a tough priests' priest. That is, he is the genuine article: pastoral, practical, and prophetic. Steeped in the social doctrine of the church, his mettle was honed by religious self-discipline and proven in action. His most recent columns reaffirm his commitment to just causes and to the long haul.

A man of the people—many of whom are pictured in the excellent photographs that enrich the volume—Rice's most eloquent writings are his tributes to an eminent line of reformist labor leaders, all of whom he knew personally, some of whom he buried. He never shrank from taking on the high and the mighty, be they J. Edgar Hoover, George Meany, or Andrew Greeley. Yet still more striking in this collection is Rice's lack of cant. Despite his partisan views and involvements, his columns are examples of reportorial objectivity. Even more impressive, they display a willingness to reevaluate past assessments and overturn them when necessary, including his long-held but overheated anticommunism.

Charles Owen Rice took the measure of his times and judged them with priestly care and accuracy. May he be emulated. □

Patrick Jordan is Commonweal*'s managing editor.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dispensability of mediating structures or institutions in a democratic society. If neoconservatives truly believe that unions are not mediating institutions, it will not be too long before someone will write a book titled, *Epitaph for the Neoconservative Movement: How the Neoconservatives Lost Touch with America*. I would hate to see that happen, for the neoconservatives still have an important role to play in the intellectual dialogue in the United States. But they can't afford to squander their credibility by overpraising a book that seriously and systematically argues that unions are mere anachronisms.

I have no problem with Green writing a critical book about the American labor movement (like all organizations, it needs constructive criticism), but, *pace* Irving Kristol, this book is more ideology than history and will not, I predict, be taken very seriously by credentialed labor historians. □

Monsignor George G. Higgins, *a longtime* Commonweal *contributor, writes a column for the Catholic News Service.*

THE BODY AS TEXT

Resurrection of the Body in Western Christendom, 200–1336
Caroline Walker Bynum
Columbia University Press, $17.50, 368 pp.

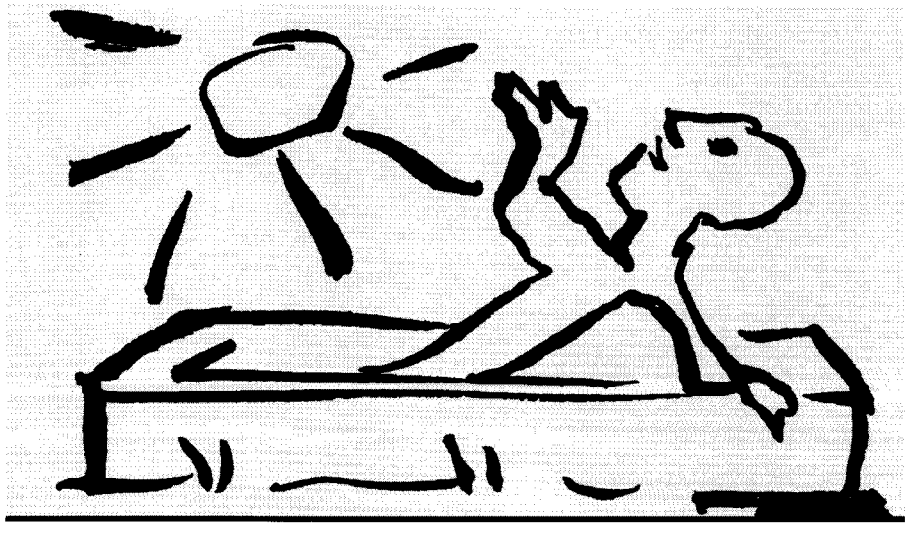
Mary Douglas

This book by a distinguished medievalist is about the iconography of the body within the Christian tradition. Bynum's central argument, vigorously pursued, is that "for most of Western history body was understood primarily as the locus of the biological process." This is a challenge to fellow historians. To us lay people, it seems sound, even if obscure. It is a complicated way of saying that Christians rejected spiritualized interpretations of the person, that soul was firmly embodied, and body emphasized in all its physicality.

Thanks to the fulminations of ancient theologians on the nature of the Trinity and the Incarnation, Christianity worked out a doctrine of one God and one unique savior. For Christians, God is worshiped by human persons constituted of fully embodied souls, expected to bear responsibility for the things their bodies do. Any dissociation of body and person, as is the case in instances of spiritual possession, was strongly discouraged. Hence the importance of the resurrection of the body at the Last Judgment. At death the soul cannot shed the body like a snake shedding its skin. Identity is fully embodied, for plenty of reasons, not the least because permanent moral responsibility is involved. The traditional teaching stresses the wholeness of the person. We are not free spirits casually inhabiting bodies borrowed for our lifetime. In 1 Corinthians 15, Paul insists that death is real, bodies are real, and Jesus' act of rising from the dead is real and central to the Christian faith and hope of salvation. Such teachings entitled Christians to conclude that the body of Christ was not an allegory of the corporate unity of the church, but a real body, and the same for our bodies, too.

Bynum deals with the resurrection of the body at two levels: First, the learned disquisitions of theologians arguing about form and substance, spirit and matter, and about the identity of the person; second, the obviously more popular, ingenious, and grisly artistic images of death and resurrection created by Christians. The recurring theme and concern is how the body, when it rises again in glory, can be reassembled entire and identical to the earthly body. Believers wanted to know how a body that had undergone normal disintegration in the grave could be the same one reconstituted in heaven. And in the worst case, how could a body that had suffered violence and mutilation be resurrected whole and unblemished?

Both Bynum's text and illustrations harp on images of the body as it is pulverized, rots in slime, or ends as the carrion of animals and insects only to be triumphantly reconstituted on the Last Day. The dominant metaphors used to depict such transformations are of Death devouring, dismembering, and consuming bodies and finally regurgitating them. Similarly, pictures show animals at the general resurrection restoring to their owners human limbs the animals had consumed, as well as the scattered bones of the dead flying of their own accord to their proper settings. Spectacular in itself, and evidently relished by the



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

craftsmen and artists of the Middle Ages, the theme of biting, gnawing, and swallowing flesh, and vomiting it back, seems to have provided a repetitive decoration to and illustration of the doctrine of bodily resurrection over the millennium from 200 to 1300.

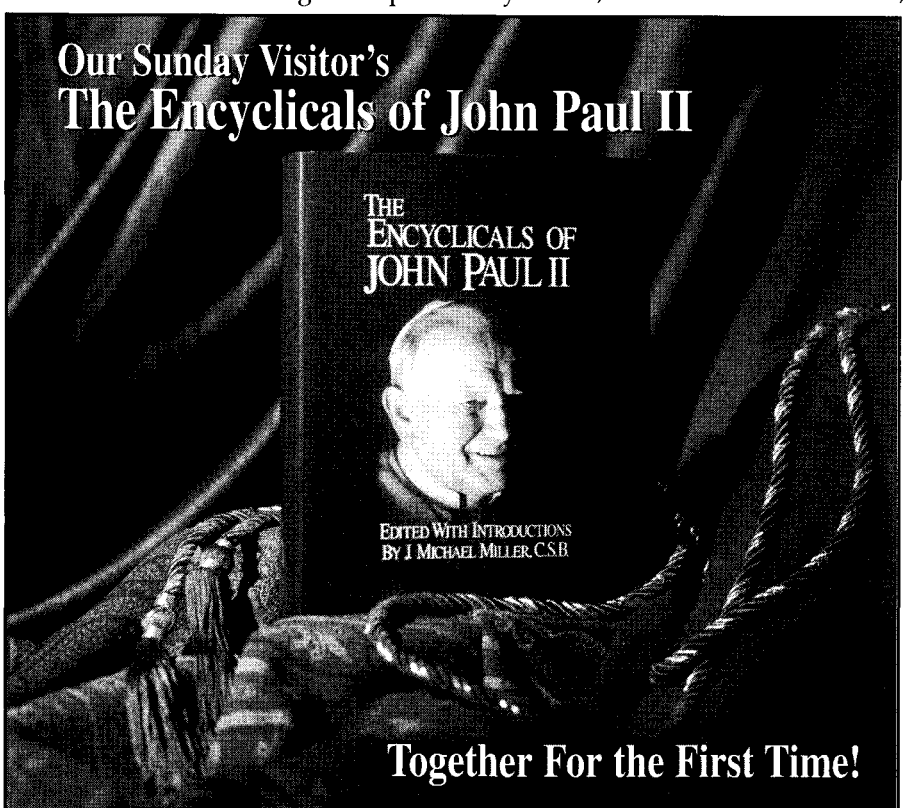
The author admits that this preoccupation with the continuity between the earthly and resurrected body seems bizarre to the modern general reader. Very properly, the main object of the book is not to titillate the general public with tales of the grotesque but to argue with other historians about the meaning of it all. The body has become a respectable, even popular historical subject on its own account in recent years. Michel Foucault started the fashion and in his view the perennial interest in the body and sex is part of an attempt to achieve social control.

Various recent historians of the body (Bynum names Peter Brown, Danielle Jacquart, Lynn Hunt, Thomas Laquer, Roy Porter, Marie-Christine Puchelle, and Claude Thomasset) "all treat body as a locus of sexuality." Bynum's slant is different. Her claim is that, apart from the need to ensure proper burial, the focus on bodily resurrection was due to the medieval view of what she calls the "other." For Bynum, the "other" is not, as the historians mentioned above suppose, a conception based on sex or gender. For the twelfth century, Bynum argues, the real "other" was death itself. She sums up her argument by saying that the focus of interest behind the concern with bodily resurrection was on the difference between being and nonbeing. If this sounds far-fetched, it is because Bynum is making a double challenge to medievalists, arguing with them both about the topic and about historical method.

Caroline Bynum is recognized as a fearless champion of new approaches to history. She is inspired by an intense desire for objectivity. She repudiates old-fashioned intellectual history, promises never to impose a meaning on the text, and eschews social reductionism: "I hope I never reduce an argument to its function or its social context, or treat theology as ideology." This means avoiding bias and not forcing interpretation.

The plan is very like one advocated by contemporary anthropologists for their ethnographic reporting. The idea is to take a defined field, say marriage contracts in a tribal society, and allow the people being studied to speak in an undirected way. For the ethnographer, the field is defined partly by the happenstance of events, and a certain aleatory element is quite welcome. However, transporting the ethnographic model to medieval history inevitably involves some heavy-handed selection of material.

Bynum's declared intention is to situate medieval theology in relation to the contemporary philosophical discussion of the mind/body problem. The context would be what ancient preachers said about dead and dying bodies and what ordinary people said and did in mourning and burying their dead. This itself strikes me as forced. Setting the resurrection of the body as an antique version of the modern mind/body debate


Our Sunday Visitor's
The Encyclicals of John Paul II
THE ENCYCLICALS OF JOHN PAUL II
EDITED WITH INTRODUCTIONS BY J. MICHAEL MILLER, C.S.B.
Together For the First Time!

The Encyclicals of John Paul II
Edited With Introductions By J. Michael Miller, C.S.B.
No. 0-87973-**726**-3, hardcover, $49.95, 1,008 pp.
No. 0-87973-**767**-0, CD-ROM, $49.95

Get both!
No. 0-87973-**728**-X, Book and CD-ROM, $69.95

Also available on CD-ROM for Macintosh or Windows.

Available at bookstores. MasterCard, VISA, and Discover customers can order direct from **Our Sunday Visitor** by calling **1-800-348-2440**. Or, send payment plus $3.95 shipping/handling to **Our Sunday Visitor**.

Our Sunday Visitor
200 Noll Plaza
Huntington, IN 46750
1-800-348-2440
OSVSALES@AOL.COM
A72BBJHC

Your Source for Discovering the Riches of the Catholic Faith

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is already a strongly selective strategy.

"It is important to the method I employ that I start with the text that is before me and follow its metaphorical connections rather than choosing a modern theoretical construct that predetermines what is the context for what," Bynum writes. But the text that is before the author has already been chosen from among other possible candidates. First, Bynum has selected texts about the body, and strictly in the context of concerns about the resurrection of the body. So it is predetermined that other texts about the body, texts about babies or mothers or about churches designed on the model of the body, for example, are irrelevant. Furthermore, the investigation is limited to only those metaphors and images used by ancient writers. But is such a narrow frame the best way to understand the meaning earlier Christians drew from bodily resurrection? Bynum concedes that that the ideas about resurrected bodies emerged from a background of persecution, conflict, concerns about gender and hierarchical norms being protected and betrayed. But these realities will not be brought in to explain what is going on in the texts and pictures under examination unless they explicitly express metaphors of the body.

The method seems truncated and makes this reviewer uneasy. Other medievalists, we are informed, attribute the meaning of the same texts to interest in sexuality, while Bynum is led by her method to find a focus on biological process and death. But since the texts have been selected for metaphors of biological decay and death, what else would she expect to find? Objectivity seems to have been devoured by methodology. In the end, we may find that the elements Bynum insists on dismembering from their social context belong to one corpus. The conclusion (so strongly predicated in the premise) is shaky.

As an anthropologist of an older generation, I first ask myself why we still exercise our thoughts upon a mind/body problem. Would it figure at all in contemporary philosophy if personal identity, moral responsibility, and justice were not at stake? I still prefer the position taken by Foucault. I am happy to believe that in medieval society the fear of death was a necessary prop in the religious dramas of judgment, hell and heaven, and resurrection. But I am not convinced that fear of physical annihilation was the major player. Even the terrors of death must be filtered through and thus be given a characteristic shape by the social concerns of each particular culture.

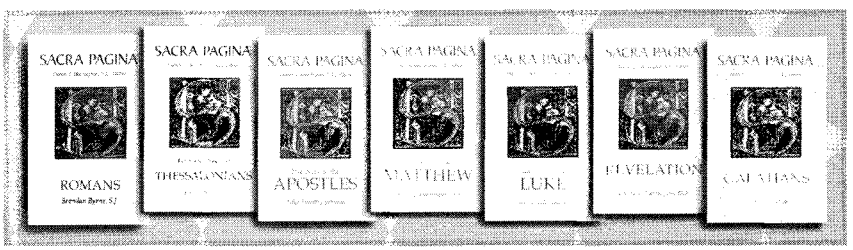
This said, Bynum has written a fascinating book. It is a signal merit to have applied wholeheartedly a much-advocated method of research and so displayed its strengths and weaknesses. I have addressed some of the weaknesses. The strengths are how it shines a brilliant light upon a topic that might have seemed too trivial to be worth attention, and, in doing so, to have made accessible a large artistic heritage that formerly seemed very bizarre. □

Mary Douglas's Natural Symbols, *with a new introduction, has been reissued recently by Routledge.*

A unique blend of critical analysis, theological insight, and catholic perspective

SACRA PAGINA

Daniel Harrington, S.J., Editor



This eighteen-volume series presents fresh translations and modern expositions of all the books of the New Testament. Written by an international team of Catholic biblical scholars, it is intended for graduate students, theologians, clergy, and religious educators.

New!
ROMANS *Brendan Byrne, S.J.*
Standing at the head of Paul's writings in the New Testament and so eloquently delivering his Gospel, Romans has presented Paul to generations of readers: from Augustine in the fifth century, through the Reformation era, down to the present day. The interpretation of Paul's letter to Rome has stimulated the path of Christian theology down to today. *Romans* touches upon virtually all main issues of Christian theology, as well as presenting a rewarding introduction to Paul. Byrne facilitates full access to Paul and his Gospel, allowing Christians today to hear his voice as intelligibly and powerfully as it has spoken to past generations.
5808-3 Hardcover, 576 pp., 6 x 9, $29.95

REVELATION
Wilfrid J. Harrington, O.P.
5818-0 Hardcover, 296 pp., 6 x 9, $29.95

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES
Luke Timothy Johnson
5807-5 Hardcover, 592 pp., 6 x 9, $29.95

GALATIANS *Frank J. Matera*
5811-3 Hardcover, 272 pp., 6 x 9, $24.95

THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW
Daniel Harrington, S.J.
5803-2 Hardcover, 448 pp., 6 x 9, $29.95

THE GOSPEL OF LUKE
Luke Timothy Johnson
5805-9 Hardcover, 480 pp., 6 x 9, $29.95

FIRST AND SECOND THESSALONIANS
Earl J. Richard
5813-X Hardcover, 456 pp., 6 x 9, $29.95

New series! Call for more information | BERIT OLAM: THE EVERLASTING COVENANT Studies in Hebrew Narrative and Poetry

Available from your religious bookstore or
Phone: 1-800-858-5450 or Fax: 1-800-445-5899

THE LITURGICAL PRESS
St. John's Abbey • P.O. Box 7500 • Collegeville, MN 56321-7500

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GREEN EGGS & HAM & GOD

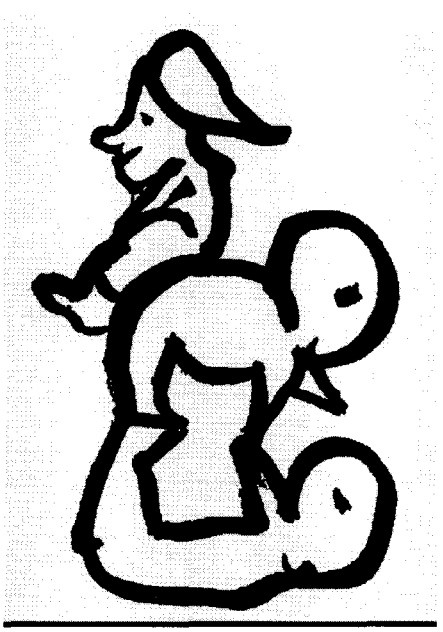
Elizabeth Kirkland Cahill

Not long ago I stayed a weekend at the Abbey of Gethsemani, the better part of my time there spent praying quietly with the monks in their grand, austere church. During my brief sojourn, I was able to drink in the deep, unremembered pleasures of solitude—to think about the meaning of the psalms I chanted, to sit in silence in the darkened church after everyone else had left, to make my solitary way across the abbey's fields on a bracing fall afternoon.

The Sunday after my return, my husband and I grabbed some of the last seats at the 9 A.M. Family Mass at our parish church in a Connecticut suburb. With our three small children, we squeezed between a humorless elderly woman and a middle-aged couple who glanced over at us whenever one of the children's voices became too loud. Instead of intoning the psalms with Trappist monks, I juggled hymnal, diaper bag, winter coats, and my youngest child, who is ten months old. I managed to catch the gist of the first two readings, but was distracted from the Gospel because I had to stop my three-year-old son from plummeting into the pew ahead. I missed the Creed entirely as I stepped over bony, unsmiling knees to take my four-year-old daughter to Sunday school. The baby needed his bottle during the prayer of consecration, and our pew was so crowded that, after Communion, I had no place to kneel in thanks.

For a layperson like me, who finds her contemplative inclinations submerged in a busy family life, it's much easier to find spirituality in a monastery. The minute I stepped into the abbey's guest house, I sensed the fullness of the presence of God—in the silence, in spontaneous conversations with other guests, in the icons, in the light and the darkness, even in a glorious tangle of branches I saw during a walk. In our parish church, that kind of sacredness is harder to come by—so many announcements, the sheepish sincerity of the kiss of peace, the sweetly off-key children's choir. In contrast to the prosaic occupants of our suburban pews—stout married couples, shuffling teen-agers, old people dangling rosaries from age-spotted hands—the white-robed monks in the abbey's choir seemed mysterious, even heroic in their radical choice to seek union with God. The monks' cadences resonated beautifully against the white, concrete walls of their church.

The tension between the contemplative quiet I crave and the active tempo I must keep has been the central fact in my spiritual life since I converted to Catholicism a year-and-a-half ago. The day of my confirmation augured my predicament precisely: I went from a hushed, joyful Easter Mass at the Carmelite nuns' monastery where I was received into the church straight home to hunt Easter eggs with the children and to cook a leg of lamb for dinner. For some time after I became Catholic, this conflict gnawed at me, until I recalled one of the most important precepts I had learned on my journey into the church: to strive in all things to discern and to obey the will of God.



For whatever reason, I realized that the still, small voice that I long to hear is these days mediated through the *un*-still, small voices of my babbling brood. Being a human, and an overachieving one, I would have preferred to serve God through extraordinary measures, not the mundanities of changing diapers, reading *Green Eggs and Ham*, and baking cookies with my children.

But here is where I am, in the hurly-burly of a young family and a suburban parish. And what is more important, here is where God is too. I believe that there is as much love and faith and hope in this ordinary Mass in Ordinary Time as in the extraordinary beauty of terce or compline at the abbey. Although my fellow parishioners don't look heroic, they surely carry within themselves elements of the sacred. Perhaps the middle-aged couple next to us have had their faith tried by the death of a child, and Ms. Bony Knees spent her life caring for a disabled child.

The Holy Spirit may not be so readily apparent or deeply felt here as in the monks' austere church, but we belong together with the monks in a communion of seeking. Maybe this is what the sacred mysteries really mean. And maybe the next time I am up with the baby at 3:15 in the morning, I'll regard it as my version of Gethsemani's vigils, as another form of praise for God. □

Elizabeth Kirkland Cahill *is the coauthor, with Joseph Papp, of* Shakespeare Alive! *(Bantam, 1988). She has worked at Shakespeare-in-the-Park and as head of public affairs for the New York Public Library.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 4)

away from the meeting muttering "the pope hates women." That may be the view from South Bend, too, but it has the odor of special pleading.

By the way, when I last checked, Sadick's staff is still looking for the memo which Bernstein claims as an additional source for his recreation of her meeting with the pope.

KENNETH L. WOODWARD
New York, N.Y.

The reviewer replies:

I have often heard of authors or their friends writing letters to complain about a negative review of a book, but surely it must be rare for individuals, unrelated to the author, to complain about a review's being too positive. Kenneth L. Woodward, of course, has already had his say about *His Holiness* in *Newsweek* [September 30, 1996], where he faulted it for, among other things, neglecting to translate the "*Majorem*" in the well-known Latin motto, "*Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam*" ("To the *greater* glory of God").

I thought the book more balanced and more reliable than he did. But perhaps it is not permitted under the neoconservative dispensation to be anything less than totally supportive of the policies of the current bishop of Rome, especially in matters affecting women. I also would not have thought it appropriate to take a personal swipe at one of the authors, Carl Bernstein, as Mr. Woodward does in his letter.

With regard to Professor Schlafly's letter, I can only say that I did not make up the statistics. I have been assured by an expert in Polish history here at Notre Dame that the prepartitioned Polish state (the Polish and Lithuanian Commonwealth of 1771) did indeed contain about 30 percent non-Catholics, including Jews. *See* Joseph Rothschild, *East Central Europe between the Two World Wars* (University of Washington Press, 1974).

RICHARD P. MCBRIEN

CLASSIFIED

Conference

THE COMMUNAL, ECOLOGICAL & FEMININE—April 4–12, 1997. Come join a conversation between the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius and three contemporary voices: the Communal, Ecological, and Feminine. For information contact: Secretary, Loyola House, Box 245, Guelph, Ontario, Canada, N1H 6J9. Tel: 519-824-1250, Ext. 266. Fax: 519-767-0994.

Ministry Program

WANT TO BE A PRIEST, RELIGIOUS, LAY MINISTER (MALE OR FEMALE) IN THE CHURCH? Mater Dei Institute for Ministry Formation. Providing theological degrees and pastoral leadership preparation. Write: Mater Dei, Gonzaga University, 405 E. Sinto, Spokane, WA 99202-1849. 1-800-633-2252, ext. 360. Financial help available.

Manuscripts Wanted

MANUSCRIPTS WANTED. ALL TYPES. Subsidy Publisher with 75-year tradition. 1-800-695-9599.

Position Available

UNIVERSITY CHAPLAIN, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY. Georgetown University is seeking a Catholic priest for the position of University Chaplain to begin on July 1, 1997. The University Chaplain is responsible for religious and spiritual programs throughout the University. A member of the President's cabinet, he leads a large interfaith office of campus ministry that serves a diverse student, faculty, and staff population on the University's three campuses. He also works with faculty and administration to promote reflection on the Catholic and Jesuit spiritual vision and education ideals on which the University is founded. Administrative support for the position is strong. Active Protestant and Jewish chaplaincies bring rich diversity. A comprehensive retreat program and large chaplain-in-residence outreach are traditional strengths. For more information contact: James M. Shea, S.J., Interim University Chaplain, Box 571250, Georgetown University, Washington, DC 20057-1250, 202-687-1395.

Our 72nd Year

In 1996 the Associates again provided essential assistance to ensure *Commonweal*'s continued publication. And when the magazine suffered substantial losses from two break-ins into our offices, many members increased their annual contributions. To those on the distinguished list below who sent in their membership up to January 16, 1997; to those who are helping to build up the Endowment; and to all the other generous 1996 contributors, our warmest thanks.

Benefactors

Anonymous, IL
Richard J. Barber, M.D., MD
Helen V. Brach Foundation, IL
Francis Neill Corbett, NY
Timothy V. Dillon, DC
Thomas J. Donnelly, PA
Mr. & Mrs. Ralph H. Dwan, Jr., DC
Hugh & Mary Fitzgerald, NM
In memory of Sister Ita Ford, M.M., NJ
Estate of Clara Glenn, MN
Bruce & Mary Jane Hall, CO
Robert G. Hoyt, NY
Lyn & Harry Isbell, CA
Edward & Marguerite Kowaleski, MI
Mrs. Irving F. (Eulah) Laucks, CA
Barbara A. McCafferty, M.D., PA
Gale & Angela Metzger, NJ
In memory of Msgr. Joseph A. Moody, GA
Judith Ann & John Neff, TN
Dennis O'Brien, VT
Daniel P. O'Connell, CT
Paul C. Saunders, NY
Rev. A.J. Schumacher, WI
John Stawasz, HI
Peter & Margaret O'Brien Steinfels, NY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Jane Wyatt Ward, CA
Waldemar H. Wenner, CA

Supporters

Joseph C. Barbaccia, M.D., CA
Rev. William J. Bausch, NJ
Mr & Mrs Robert L. Berner, Jr., IL
Cyril & June Buersmeyer, MI
Sidney & Daniel Callahan, NY
Nora Cashion, PA
Rev. James Challancin, IN
Catherine M. Connolly, CA
Rev. J. Stewart Culkin, VA
Leonard & Rosemary Deen, NY
Lee F. Driscoll, Jr., PA
In memory of Christopher E. Fullman, NJ, and Rev. Msgr. William Granger Ryan, NY
In memory of James G. Good, NY
John Korey, CA
Rev. Robert E. Lauder, NY
Mrs. W. F. (Mary W.) Lavin, DE
John V. Lawler, VA
Kevin T. O'Brien, NJ
Jonathan & Shirley O'Herron, CT
Christian B. Peper, MO
Thomas J. Posatko, DE
Kurt & Lois Schilling, V.M.D., CA
Gertrude A. Schlachter, NY
Joan & Richard Sexton, NY
Eugene J. Vader, Jr., MN
John H. VanGorder, MO
Matilda B. Wilbur, CA
Monica Serpe Yolles, IL

Patrons

Mrs. Victor (Sophie B.) Angelescu, MI
Anonymous, CA
Anonymous, NY
Anonymous, NY
Rosemary Dolan Arnett, MI
Suzanne McSorley & Thomas Baker, NJ
Joseph P. Bevak, NY
Vivienne Blanquie, CA
M. Joseph Bowler, M.D., MI
Matthew P. Boylan, NJ
William D. Broderick, VA
Gerald P. & Marie Caffrey, WI
Rev. James T. Callahan, CA
Rev. Edward P. Cantwell, NY
Paul & Helena Cavanagh, RI
Blanche Childs, IL
Byzantine Poor Clares, OH
Rev. Joseph I. Collins, MA
Rev. John T. Collins, NY
Rev. Daniel J. Collins, S.J., Tokyo
Bruce A. Connolly, MA
Emily Ann Cramer, MO
Mrs. Margaret Culkin, CA
Lawrence S. Cunningham, IN
Miriam & Tom Curnin, NY
John & Mary Deedy, MA
Edmund T. Delaney, CT
Bernard J. Dobbins, CA
Susan Donnelly, MI
Thomas & Rosemary Dowling, NY
William C. & Linda Dowling, NJ
Rev. Robert F. Drinan, S.J., DC
Mrs. Ralph (Mary) Dwan, DC
William B. & Iris Fenton, MD
Dr. & Mrs. James B. Finn, MO
Joseph A. Flear, PR
Susan R. Gannon, NY
Peter J. & Dorothea Gilligan, MN
Ella Mae Gogel, IA
Mrs. Margaret S. Goheen, NJ
Cindy Carter & Paul Goldenberg, MA
Walter T. Grady, OH
Joseph G. Grassi, CT
George W. Grayson, VA
Rev. Thomas I. Healy, IL
Harry H. Hinkle, NY
Richard J. Hofstad, MN
William & Mary Alice Houghton, WI
W. J. Huelskamp, WI
Virginia Hughes, NY
John & Miriam Hunt, NJ
Thomas J. Kaveney, IL
Alice M. Kearney, NY
Dorothy N. Kelly, FL
In memory of Rev. Laurence D. Kelly, IL
John H. Kniest, Jr., VA
Paul M. Kolosso, WI
Rev. Robert J. Kruse, C.S.C., MA
Elaine S. Larkin, CA
Neal & Anne Laurance, MI
Most Rev. Raymond A. Lucker, MN
Patricia MacManus, NY
Thomas F. Mader, Tokyo
Rev. Edward A. Malloy, C.S.C., IN
Stephen Manning, KY
Edward Marciniak, IL
Angela M. Mathews, NY
William H. McCaslin, NY
Rev. Richard A. McCormick, S.J., IN
Robert & Mildred McCoy, OH
John P. McDonough, VT
John G. McKevitt, PA
Rev. Msgr. Frederick R. McManus, DC
Edward & Jane McMillan, CT
Rev. Mr. Bartholomew J. Merella, MD
Fred Lough & Mary Ellen Mullin, PA
Samuel Mullin, MA
Joseph E. Murray, M.D., MA
Daniel M. Murtaugh, FL
Rev. William B. Neenan, S.J., MA
Ray & Mary O'Connell, NY
Doris C. O'Neil, CT
Elizabeth Oakes, CA
Rev. Martin J. Osborne, NY
John R. Page, VA
Mr. & Mrs. Charles W. Parry, FL
Dennis & Leslie Purcell, NY
John F. Rieger, VA
Marie Wolf Riley, PA
Charles Roth, NY
Bruce & Cynthia Russett, CT
Raphael P. Schlingerman, MN
Frank R. Schmid, IL
Timothy F. Sheehan, MA
Sargent & Eunice Shriver, MD
Rev. Robert S. Smith, NY
Hillen J. Smith, MD
Greg & Mary Stephen, IL
Tim & Lecia Stock, VA
In memory of Francis & Theresa Greene Straulman, MO
Margaret M. Sullivan, DC
Rev. Francis Sullivan, C.P.P.S., PA
Jim & Kitty Tierney, MO
Rev. Aldo J. Tos, NY
Dr. Mary Segers & Dr. Jerome Travers, NJ
Rev. Louis J. Trivison, OH
Janet P. Vickrey, NY
Joan Dunn Walsh, NY
Leo J. Walsh, PA
Claire Cunningham & Philip Ward, VA
Ray Warman, NY
Most Rev. Rembert G. Weakland, WI
Bruce Weber, OR
Robert J. Weiler, NM
Mary J. Wodynski, IL
Rev. George E. Wuellner, IL

Charters

W. Shepherdson Abell, MD
Russ & Pat Alberding, IL
Rev. Msgr. Joseph Alves, MA
Anonymous, NH
Anonymous, PA
Anonymous, VT
Anonymous, VT
Desmond Arthurs, CA
Pierre & Jill Auger, MA
Rev. R. James Balint, TX
John H. Bannon, CA
Dr. Robert & Helen Barnet, NV
Margaret Barss, OR
Russell & Bernice Barta, IL
Elizabeth Bartelme, NY
Vincent H. Beckman, OH
Dr. & Mrs. Richard P. Bendel, MN
Mrs. E.C. Bigelow, CT
Larry John Bongort, HI
Helen L. Boyle, PA
Rev. Eugene J. Boyle, CA
Rev. Daniel Brady, NY
Ruth Brantl, MD
Stephen J. Breen, CT
Michael & Rita Brennan, M.D., MI
Anthony & Irmgard Brenninkmeyer, NY
John J. Bresnan, NY
William R. Broderick, NJ
James A. Broderick, DC
William A. Brown, TX
John Buell, ME
Dennis E. Buetow, IL
Dennis J. Burke, CA
Ellen Burns, NY
Rev. David B. Burrell, C.S.C, IN
Rev. John F.X. Burton, S.J., CO
In memory of John Peter Byrne, IL
John & Dorothy Callahan, MN
Maureen O. Carleton, WA
David R. & Maureen Carlin, Jr., RI
Rev. William H. Carr, VA
Edward J. Carville, CA
Kevin J. Christiano, IN
Anthony Ciccariello, NY
Joseph J. Cieply, IL
H. Robert Clark, IL
Lawrence M. Clemens, MN
Margaret G. Clements, AZ
George D. Cody, NJ
Rev. John A. Coleman, S.J., CA
Mrs. William H. (Dolores R.) Connolly, NJ
Jill Ker Conway, MA
John M. Corcoran, MA
Patricia C. Crean, NY
In memory of Mary A. Crimmins, CA
Most Rev. Joseph R. Crowley, IN
Most Rev. Thomas Curry, CA
John & Marguerite D'Amico, NJ
James J. Daly, NY
Msgr. John K. Daly, FL
S.E. Darden, IN
Edward M. Davin, VA
Dr. Eugene DeBenko, MI
Rev. Walter Debold, NJ

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

James L. Deegan, DC
Rev. Daniel A. Degnan, S.J., NY
Walter & Dorothy Dempsey, TX
Joseph S. DeNatale, MA
Mrs. Robert (Carol) Devitt, NY
A. W. Dickinson, MA
Enoch & Jean Dillon, MD
Dr. Dorothy R. Dillon, DC
Mrs. Frank S. Dinger, NY
Rev. Anthony DiRusso, NH
Jerry Dixon, IL
William B. Dixon, Esq., PA
Daria L. Donnelly, MA
Mrs. John F. Donnelly, MI
Frank Donovan, NY
Rev. Robert J. Duane, NY
James Duffy, NY
Rev. Timothy Eden S.M., CA
Rev. Msgr. John J. Egan, IL
Neal M. & Martha Einson, NY
Jean B. Elshtain, TN
Rev. John Whitney Evans, MN
Gail Lambers & Peter A. Fagan, MD
Paul & Clare Faherty, IL
Anne Farber, NY
Paul & Theodora Cogley Farrell, MA
Thomas L. Farrelly, NY
Vincent Fausone, Jr., CA
Andrew Felker, WI
Patrick V. Felker, WI
Mr. Edward J. Fencl, OK
Thomas & Madeline Finnerty, NY
Rev. Thomas J. Fitzgerald, IL
Dennis FitzSimons, NJ
Rev. William J. Flaherty, IL
Arthur W. Fleming, M.D., PA
Dr. Frederick & C. M. Berndes Franck, NY
Franciscan Friars, MD
Timothy Fulham, MA
Rev. Msgr. David M. Gallivan, NY
Donald Gancer, IL
Mrs. Frank R. Gardner, PA
Joseph E. Geoghan, CT
Most Rev. Peter L. Gerety, NJ
Ann Glancey, NJ
Charles Glatz, IA
Joseph E. Goodwill, PA
Robert J. & Beatrice Gormley, NY
Gerald W. Grawey, IL
Raymond F. Gregory, NY
Doris Grumbach, ME
Christine Guarino, CT
William & Eileen Hallissey, NJ
Teresa A. Hamrock, MA
Cmdr. Kevin D. Harty, FL
Rev. Robert L. Hazel, MN
Rev. Ronald L. Heidelberger, MI
Francis H. Heller, KS
Jane Herrick, MA
Rev. Msgr. Joseph P. Herron, NJ
Thomas J. Higgins, CA
Rev. Msgr. George G. Higgins, DC
Thomas A. Hopkins, PA
Carol A. Hubert, GA
Jane Wolford Hughes, MI
Rev. John Jay Hughes, MO
Mr. & Mrs. Francis P. Jackman, MD
James Jereb, NY
Bernard J. Johnston, NY
Sandra Poysa & Jim Jordan, CA
John & Elaine Kamerick, FL
Rev. Philip Kaufman, O.S.B., MN
Frank & Joan Keenan, DC
Dorothy Keenan, WI
In memory of Dr. Richard F.C. Kegel, WA
Kevin P. Kelly, VA
William J. Kelly, IL
Sighle Kennedy, R.I.P., NY
Edward F. Kennedy, C.SS.R, British Columbia
Rev. J. A. Komonchak, MD
Peter James Kountz, PA
Rev. Thomas E. Kramer, ND
Mary Kruger, NY
Marie Labatte, Canada
Julia Ladner, IL
James W. LaFave, M.D., MN
Rev. Msgr. Thomas P. Leonard, NY
Francis R. Lewis, NJ
William H. Lyons, M.D., WI
Frank J. & Mary Macchiarola, NY
Robert Mack, MI
Denis G. Mahoney, NY
John F. Mahony, NY
Stephen & Winifred Mallard, NJ
Rev. John Manahan, S.M., TX
Kathleen Manion, MA
Edward F. Mannino, PA
Francis J. Marshall, IN
Dr. Martin Marty, IL
Paul L. & Rosemary F. Mathews, MO
Alice E. Mayhew, NY
Daniel & Cornelia Mazzuchi, MI
Frank J. McCabe, FL
Dr. & Mrs. Daniel J. McCarty, WI
Rev. John O. McCaslin, NE
Peter R. McClure, MA
Patrick J. & Frances R. McCormick, PA
Jim McCrea, CA
Mary McCrossan, M.D., DE
Rev. David M. McDonald, CT
Myles T. McDonald, PA
Rev. Paul F. McDonald, TX
Peter McDonough, AZ
Rita T. McGinty, TX
Rev. Joseph McGlinn, PA
Carmel A. McKay, CA
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph McMahon, NY
Rev. Edward McMahon, MA
Most Rev. John M. R. McNamara, MA
Thomas P. McTighe, MD
Rev. Francis X. Meehan, PA
Cassandra Metzger, NJ
George F. & Emily Mihelic, IL
Dr. Paul Misner, WI
E.L. & Mary Mongan, DE
Joseph & Dorothy Mulholland, NY
Rev. Msgr. Philip J. Murnion, NY
Kathleen & John Murnion, NY
Rev. Msgr. John F. Murphy, KY
Daniel R. Murray, IL
Mary K. Nenno, DC
Jon Nilson, IL
Rev. Msgr. John Philip O'Connor, NJ
Annette O'Flaherty, NJ
James O'Gara, MD
Rev. James P. O'Hagan, MI
Rev. Joseph A. O'Hare, S.J., NY
Mr. & Mrs. James O'Hayer, CT
Rev. Thomas P. O'Malley, S.J., CA
Quentin & Paula Ogren, CA
Gregory Olberding, OH
Anita M. Pampusch, MN
St. Cassian Parish, NJ
David & Marlene Pratto, NC
Donald E. & Eleanor Price, NC
In memory of Lawrence Ragan, IL
Helen M. Ranney, M.D., CA
In memory of Kathleen Carroll Reasoner, NC
David K. Reeves, NJ
Rev. Matthew R.D. Regan, CA
Michael J. Reilly, M.D., VA
Helen Reynolds, VA
Herbert S. Riband, Jr., PA
Daniel T. Roach, NY
Peter & Ann Robinson, CT
John Robinson, NY
Edward F. Rogers, NJ
Thomas J. Rose, M.D., MN
Aileen Ryan, MI
Marion M. Ryan, NY
Rev. Paul J. Savage, PA
Mary H. Scheuer, MI
A. F. Schmelzle, MN
Vivian Segall, CT
Jan Robert Selman, IL
James & Ruth Shannon, MN
James A. Shea, NY
James P. Shea, Esq., NY
Mr. & Mrs. Gerald Siefken, LA
Most Rev. Richard Sklba, WI
Rev. Gerard S. Sloyan, MD
Mrs. Courtney Smith, IL
Joseph P. Spampinato, PA
Mary A. Stanton, MA
Dr. E. Mark Stern, NY
Annette Stoddard-Freeman, WI
James T. Sugrue, NY
John J. & M. Sullivan, AZ
Winnifred & Barry Sullivan, VA
Betty J. Sullivan, Ph.D., MN
S. Surendran, PA
Edward J. Tedesco, MA
Ralph Thibodeau, TX
Charles A. Tobin, MD
Joseph W. Twombly, Jr., MO
Arthur & Sheila Tybor, CA
Rev. Anthony J. Vader, IL
Jo Goeke Vallo, IL
Rev. Thomas Ventura, IL
Margaret O'Gara & Joseph Vertin, Toronto
Catherine F. Voss, NY
Patrick J. Waide, Jr., CT
Don & Ellen Warwick, MA
Dr. & Mrs. Charles Wasilewski, Jr., PA
Rev. John E. Watterson, RI
Col. (Ret.) B. A. Waxstein, Jr., CA
Kevin S. Whitley, CA
Constance Wilson, KY
Thomas L. Wright, M.D., OH

Sustainers

A. R. Adamich, IL
Joseph Agresta, CT
John & Lois Ahlhauser, IN
Michael Alavanja, MD
Anthony & Julia Albrecht, MD
Mr. & Mrs. James M. Allaire, CA
Dorothy Allen, MI
Mr. James M. Allen, MO
Salvatore Anastasio, NY
Margaret B. Ancker, CA
Howard W. & Mary T. Andrews, NJ
Anonymous, FL
Anonymous, IL
Anonymous, MA
Anonymous, MA
Anonymous, MN
Anonymous, NJ
Anonymous, NY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Anonymous, PA
Anonymous, PA
Frances Appich, PA
Rev. Msgr. William Argy, NY
Doris R. Asmundsson, NY
Eugene J. Audette, MN
Ray Baalman, WA
Jack Bacon, HI
Marjorie M. Bacon, CA
Edwina M. Baehr, LA
William R. Bailey, VA
Mrs. Alex (Geraldine) Baldwin, NY
Martha Baltzell, PA
James D. Barger, M.D., NV
Mrs. Joseph C. Bart, WI
Rev. Msgr. Howard B. Basler, NY
Loring W. Batten, III, NY
Katherine S. Batts, CO
Paul N. Bauer, OH
Harry & Carol Baumann, Jr., OH
Rev. Michael J. Baxter, C.S.C., IN
Maureen O'Brien & Andrew Bechman, MA
Lawrence J. Becker, NY
Donald & Shirley Bedard, MI
William F. Bell, MA
Robert N. Bellah, CA
Victor Bellotti, OR
Michael W. Blastic, NY
Rich Blickendorfer, VA
Rev. Edmond Bliven, OR
Rev. Ronald J. Boccieri, M.M., NY
John Bodner, Jr., DC
Rev. John A. Boehning, NY
Emily M. Boesch, CA
Lawrence & Joyce Bohan, MD
Rev. Bernard R. Bonnot, NY
Most Rev. Anthony G. Bosco, PA
Rev. John V. Bowden, NJ
Jeffrey J. Bowe, MA
Hallie DeChant & Thomas Bowne, MD
Vincent & Magda Boylan, VA
Michael J. & Ethel R. Boyle, MN
Rev. Joseph Bragotti, OH
Mr. & Mrs. John W. Brennan, NJ
Thomas Brennan, NJ
Mrs. Frederick Breydert, Paris
Mrs. Helen Brinich, OH
Bridget Brown, IL
Alden & Maureen Brown, NY
Daniel A. Brown, CA
Joan Burke, CA
Thomas J. Burke, FL
Mary N. Burke, NM
Carol G. Burns, MA
Francis P. & Dolores Burns, PA
Ed & Eileen Burns, CT
Most Rev. Charles A. Buswell, CO
Rev. Richard Butler, MA
Robert J. Butler, MA
Rev. William L. Butler, MA
Amity P. Buxton, Ph.D., CA
Marie T. Byrne, NY
Joanne Cabrera, TX
Rosemary Cahill, IL
Owen & Mary Jane Cahill, NY
Jack B. Caldwell, CA
Bill & Laura Caldwell, OH
John Calhoun, NY
John F. Callaghan, MI
Edward T. Callan, MI
John P. & Margaret G. Callanan, CA
L. A. Cambey, NY
Richard J. Campbell, NJ
Margaret M. Campbell, LA
Rev. Msgr. Francis X. Canfield, MI
Helen M. Cannon, IL
Constance Carey, NJ
Mr. & Mrs. Gregory Carnevale, MI
Mary J. Carr, NY
William A. Carroll, NC
Ruth Carroll, PA
Claire Carten, MA
Edward F. Casassa, PA
Robert Caul, RI
David Cawley, NH
Donald E. Chambers, KS
Peggy Champlin, CA
Anne & David Chastain, MA
Mrs. Charles Chatfield, MA
Francis L. Chisholm, MA
Norman Chonacky, WA
Frances Ciaschini, MA
Rev. Thomas E. Cima, IL
Robert V. Cleary, Jr., MI
Martin & Mary Codd, NC
Donald K. Cody, CT
Pat Coffey, WI
Loretta F Coghlan, MI
Lou Colaianni, NJ
J. Rawson Collins, OH
Rev. Msgr. Russell J. Collins, MA
Vincent & Mary Collison, CO
Vincent P. & Joan Comiskey, NJ
Bernard J. Conboy, NY
Charles L. Conlon, M.D., TX
Rev. Quinn R. Conners, O. Carm., IL
Arthur F. Connor, MA
Leo Connor, NJ
Rev. Albert J. Connors, C.M.F, CA
Daria D. Conran, MO
Donna M. Cooper-Stange, VA
Edward M. Corbett, TX
Catherine Corbin, NY
William E. Cormier, IL
Thomas Cosgrove, MD
Donald & Christine Costello, IN
Mary Costello, IL
Joseph B. Crimmins, CT
Rev. Andrew W. Cryans, NH
John & Constance Cullinane, MA
Peter F. Cunningham, CA
William V. D'Antonio, DC
Peter Dalton, NY
Rev. Anthony J. Daniele, MA
Pierre Dansereau, Montreal
Dr. Natalie T. Darcy, NY
Margaret Darken, PA
Rosemary (Mrs. C.E.) Davenport, CA
Joan Christie Davis, CT
Mrs. Marie W. Dean, MD
Rev. John DeCaprio, NY
Rev. Msgr. William E. Delaney, WY
Dr. Frank S. DeLucia, CA
David L. Derus, CA
Robert DeSutter, MO
Stanley E. Dewey, OH
Rev. Godfrey Diekmann, O.S.B., MN
Jean & Tom Digan, MA
Tom & Kristi Dinell, HI
Thomas V. DiSilvio, VT
Philip DiTommaso, NY
James & Kathleen Doig, GA
J. Pierre Dowd, DC
Patrick Dowling, CA
Rev. Joseph F. Downey, IL
Phyllis M. Doyle, IL
John M. Drain, OH
William Droel, IL
Thomas M. Duffy, DC
Benedict Duffy, Jr., MA
James J. Egan, NY
Rev. Harvey F. Egan, MN
Ellen & Robert Elie, NY
Mr. & Mrs. Marshall Ellet, OK
Robert P. Ellis, IL
Colonel Robert J. Ennis, CO
Rev. William W. Ernst, IN
Mrs. Wallace Erwin, MA
Rev. Francis L. Eschweiler, WI
Shirley Esenther, IL
Mike Evans, CA
Andre Eydt, NY
Rev. John Fahey, CA
Doris & Thomas Falin, PA
Ruth Fallon, MA
Rev. Simon F. Falvey, CA
Paul & Paulette Farris, CT
Virginia Faulkner, CA
In memory of Barbara E. Ferkiss, MD
Veronica Fessel-Rotheim, NY
Patrick J. Finnegan, NY
Alston Fitts, III, AL
Katherine Fitzgerald, MA
Rev. George Fitzgerald, C.S.P., CO
Miriam Fitzpatrick, NJ
Dan Flannery, PA
Mary Ann Fleming, KS
Leo Flynn, NY
John & Eileen P. Flynn, NJ
Rev. Msgr. James B. Flynn, CA
Eugene Fontinell, NY
Steven Forstein, CT
Mario J. & Dorthy M. Forte, NJ
Robert Fosket, NJ
Mrs C. H. Foster, NY
Elizabeth & Eugene Froehle, MN
J. Ormond Frost, M.D., NY
Rev. J. Gerald Gallagher, NJ
Paul J. Galvin, DC
Francis V. Gargani, NY
Jean Gartlan, MD
Joan Garvey Hermes, IL
John M. Gavin, IL
Laura S. Gellott, WI
Joseph R. George, Jr., RI
Dr & Mrs Edward Gerety, NM
Paul F. Gerosky, PA
Rev. Albert C. Giaquinto, S.S., DC
Claire M. Gillespie, NY
Robert Gilliam, NY
George Gilmore, AL
A. W. Godfrey, NY
In memory of Margaret Golatz, PA
Elizabeth & Edward Gonnella, CA
Dolores Gracian, NY
Josephine Grandillo, NY
Mr. Thomas V. Graves, MD
Peter B. Green, NY
James M. Griesmer, GA
Susan Keane & Richard B. Griffin, MA
Robert J. Griffin, WI
J. E. Grimm, MO
William B. Grogan, NY
Toni & Frank Gross, MI
Michael & Katherine Gruber, MI
Joan Gurian, MD
Dr. William T. Haley, Jr., MA
Henry J. Halko, MA
Larry & Mary Hansen, OR
Mary M. Hanson, MT
Mary A. Hapenney, MA
Barbara Hargrave, NY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Emmet Harrington, OR
Andrew Hartery, MA
Rev. John Hayes, IL
Michael Healy, CA
Anne G. Heck, OH
Mrs. Charles Heideman, IL
Joseph Heininger, MI
Mary Christine Hellin, NY
Rev. John E. Hennessey, IL
Mr. & Mrs. James E. Hennessy, NY
Rev. Patrick Hensy, C.S.P., TX
James G. Herrmann, IL
Thomas & Mary Heyman, NJ
Micaela F. Hickey, NY
Andrew J. & Margaret Hickey, NJ
Rev. Joseph C. Hilbert, PA
Christine Hildner, FL
Rev. Robert Hilkert, OH
Stephen J. Hill, Ontario
Denis Hines, CO
John W. Hinkley, MA
Marie D. Hoff, Ph.D., ID
Rev. Edward P. Hogan, NY
John P. Hogan, DC
Patience (Mrs. G.G.) Hogan, PA
Frank Hohenadel, IL
Clement J. Holgate, NJ
Rev. Msgr. Alfred F. Horrigan, KY
Rosemarie Horvath, NY
Dr. Joseph P. Hourihan, MI
Joseph J. Houska, Jr., CA
Rev. Paul J. Hritz, OH
Rev. Michael J. Hunt, C.S.P., MA
Margaret M. Hurley, CT
Daniel & Mary Hurley, MA
Benedict J. Hussmann, IL
Rev. Edwin H. Hustedde, IL
Margaret D. Hutaff, MA
Joseph Hynes, OR
Rev. Robert P. Imbelli, MA
Joseph Imbriaco, NJ
David Impastato, VA
Int'l Union of Bricklayers & Allied Craftsmen, DC
Rev. Owen R. Jackson, O.S.A., PA
Margaret Jacoby, WA
Rev. Robert J. Jallas, IL
Frank J. Jankowski, WA
Dorothy A. Jankowski, OH
Mrs. Robert Janson, CT
Mary L. Jarvis, MA
Mr. & Mrs. Frank Jennings, NY
James R. Jennings, VA
Mary E. Jennings, IL
Mrs. Gerry Jones, WA
Thomas F. Jordan, CA
Patricia M. Joyce, NY
Joyce Kales, PA
Mary Kane, OH
Paul Kane, NY
Eileen Kanzler, IL
John Kearns, NY
Mrs. Donald (Kate H.) Keefe, CT
Marie A. Keller, CA
Rev. Ralph Kelley, CT
Rev. Laurence Kelly, IL
John S. Kelly, Ph.D., CA
Rev. William G. Kenneally, IL
Dr. & Mrs. Thomas J. Kennedy, Jr., MD
Rev. Msgr. Philip J. Kenney, NH
Anne & Wendell Kestle, AL
Rev. Ronald M. Ketteler, KY
Robert & Donna Kiersz, NY
Alice Kilcoin, NY
Donald J. King, ME
In memory of Lawrence T. King, CA
Veronica C. King, CA
Mr. & Mrs. Donald L. Kinzer, OR
Mary Ann Kirkham, AZ
Rev. Edward P. Kisdonk, WI
Joseph T. Kivlin, WI
Mrs. Thomas (Kathleen) Knight, Jr., CT
James E. Koller, NY
Colette Cook & Christopher Koller, RI
Donald H. & Marie Kotz, WI
Mr. & Mrs. Albert W. Kramer, NJ
Francis W. Krastel, MD
Mary Ellen Krauss, MI
Marion Kriebell, CT
Rev. Ronald F. Krisman, TX
Thomas J. Kucera, IL
Mrs. J. Craig Kuhn, PA
Patricia A. Kurfman, CO
Mr. & Mrs. John D. LaBelle, CT
John Lafferty, MD
Suzanne E. LaLonde, NY
Julia A. Lane, IL
Mary Irene Lanigan, MA
Louis & Mary Lanzerotti, NJ
Rev. Msgr. Richard P. LaRoque, CT
Clifford Laube, CT
Edward & Martha Laurance, CA
Richard S. Lavery, CT
Rev. Edward Law, Toronto
Norman & Josephine Lee, NJ
Lorna A. Leedy, FL
Raymond & Cherla Leonardini, CA
Celian Lewis, FL
Rose Mary Lewis, NY
Mrs. Edmond E. Lincoln, DE
J. J. Linehan, OR
Tim Lozier, FL
John A. Lynch, MA
Sheila Lyne, IL
Beatrice A. Mackenzie, CT
Mary C. Mackin, IA
Robert E. MacMaster, MA
John J. Magee, FL
Paul Magnano, WA
Cornelia E. Mahon, NY
John J. Mahoney, CA
Michael A. Malec, MA
Most Rev. James W. Malone, OH
John D. Maloney, CA
Rev. Thomas Mannion, OR
Rev. William D. Mannion, IL
Eileen Eyre Manuel, OH
Paul Marentette, NY
Mrs. Constance R. Marquardt, FL
Thomas W. Marren, IL
Josephine Marshall, CA
Ronald Marstin, NY
Gerard Martineau, MA
Robert C. Martinez, CA
Michael Martucci, CT
Dr. Charles & Geraldine Matthews, WI
Dave & Jeanne Mayes, IA
Dr. Mario D. Mazzarella, VA
Margaret McCamy, MA
John B. McCarthy, VA
Michael L. McCarthy, Ph.D., CA
Neil J. McCarty, WI
Dorothy M. McCauley, FL
John P. McCauley, NY
George B. McCeney, MD
Dorothee M. McClain, OH
Peter & Louise McCloskey, VA
Paul W. & Marie McCloskey, MD
Neil G. McCluskey, FL
James J. McCormick, IL
Don McCrabb, OH
John & Mary Ann McCudden, IL
Edith McCulloch, VA
Thomas M. McDonald, NY
Joseph W. McDonnell, NY
John T. McDonough, OH
Marie T. McDonough, NY
Eugene F. McDonough, Jr., M.D., MA
Rev. James McDougall, MI
John McGaley, NY
James F. McGovern, PA
Thomas J. McGovern, WI
Owen & Pat McGowan, MA
Mary Jean McGrath, WI
John A. McGrath, OH
Robert & Ann McGrath, NJ
David K. McGuire, MD
Rev. Paul J. McGuire, S.C.J., WI
John P. McHugh, IL
Rev. Owen J. McHugh, CO
Mary Jane (Mrs. Edward) McHugh, IL
Rev. Donald W. McIlvane, PA
Norman C. McKenna, MD
Samuel M. McKinney III, MI
John M. McLarnon, Jr., PA
Joseph G. McLean, PA
Rev. Msgr. Charles J. McManus, NY
Vivien Leonard McNaughton, NY
Paul J. McNeil, Jr., RI
James F. McNulty, Jr., AZ
Gerald McPhillips, VA
William R. McTaggart, IN
Wilson C. McWilliams, NJ
Mary A. Mead, MI
Dr. Gerardine Meerman, CA
Gladys Meier, WI
Elizabeth Mensch, NY
Samuel V. Merrick, NJ
Charles R. Metz, CA
Bob & Catherine Meyer, IL
Alice T. Meyer, MN
Theodore Michaels, OH
Rev. Raymar Middendorf, O.F.M, IN
Peter P. Midura, NY
Richard Mihan, M.D., CA
Maxwell Miller, Toronto
Mary Lou Miller, VA
Robert T. Milton, PA
Ed Mirek, CT
Mrs. Madge Misner, WI
Joseph Misner, NJ
Francis & Mary Molson, MI
John Montesi, NH
Maureen Reilly Moran, NY
Rev. Fred L. Moriarty, S.J., MA
Katherine T. Mosher, NY
Theodore C. Moss, NC
Jean D. Moss, MD
Elizabeth J. Mudd, MO
H. C. Mulholland, NC
Mr. & Mrs. James Mullin, NJ
David Munroe, OH
Rev. William Munshower, IN
Robert Murncy, MO
Dr. Dennis K. Murphy, NY
Rev. Francis X. Murphy, C.SS.R., MD
Dr. Frank J. Murphy, NV
Jack & Arlene Murphy, NJ
Rev. James W. Murphy, MN
John Murphy, MA
Patrick Murphy, CA
Vincent R. Murphy, ND

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rev. William J. Murphy, MI
Marie F. Murray, FL
Rev. Lawrence J. Murtagh, SD
Salvatore J. Natoli, DC
Rev. Robert G. Navarre, MI
John Nelligan, Ottawa
Louise Nesladek, NY
Frank Nigra, NY
William M. Nolan, NJ
Dave Nona, MI
Thomas J. Noone, GA
Robert Norris, NY
Patricia J. Nussey, NY
Christopher O'Brien, MA
Patrick. J. O'Brien, IL
Robert M. O'Brien, VA
Jane B. O'Connell, NY
Rev. Daniel J. O'Connor, GA
Mary Ellen O'Connor, NY
Patricia O'Connor, ND
Roderick B. O'Connor, NC
Sean O'Connor, CT
Elizabeth O'Donnell, AK
Rev. Francis C. O'Hare, MA
Rev. Msgr. John J. O'Hare, CA
Dr. Bernard J. O'Loughlin, CA
James C. & Alice O'Shea, NY
Donald O'Toole, IL
James M. O'Toole, MA
Rev. Edward T. Oakes, S.J., CO
Paul Oberst, KY
Helen M. Oechsli, NY
Frank V. Olivero, MI
Rev. Ted Olson, CA
Rev. Donald J. Ophals, NY
Elizabeth F. Ormsby, IL
Ellie B. & Wilfred Owen, VA
Thomas & Ellen J. Palumbo, NJ
Jean O. Paquette, MA
Edith M. Parfitt, MA
Dorothy Paulson, MN
Margaret Pautler, MO
John & Loretta Pavlik, IL
David & Mary Jo Pedersen, NE
Donald A. Perreault, CA
Raymond J. Perry, MA
Dr. Gerald Peters, NJ
Carl A. Pettersch, MI
Joseph & Mary A. Pettit, VA
William Phelps, CA

BECOME A '97 ASSOCIATE

- ☐ **Benefactors $1,000**
- ☐ **Supporters $500**
- ☐ **Patrons $250**
- ☐ **Charters $125**
- ☐ **Sustainers $50**
- ☐ **Full amount enclosed.**
- ☐ **Half enclosed; remind me of the balance in 6 months**

(Memberships are tax deductible)

Name

Address

City, State, Zip

COMMONWEAL ASSOCIATES
15 Dutch Street, New York, NY 10038

Veronica E. Pheney, FL
G. Edward Philips, NM
Lawrence J. Pirtle, TX
Rev. Michael D. Place, S.T.D., IL
John Pliska, MI
Joseph D. & Kathleen Policano, NY
Marie Ponsot, NY
Anne E. Porter, NY
W. Philip Portz, M.D., DE
Terese Ann Powell, MN
Antonio Prado, FL
Rev. James H. Provost, DC
John & Mary Prucha, NY
William P. Pyne, NJ
Dr. Julia M. Quagliata, NY
John L. Quann, FL
Tom Quinlan, PA
Rev. Leonard E. Racki, CO
John T. Radelet, PA
Brian Abel Ragen, MO
Elizabeth Rainey, TX
Rev. Jim Ratigan, IL
Rev. John R. Rebold, NM
Rev. Reginald A. Redlon, O.F.M., NY
Ceil Reh, MO
Earl T. Reichert, VA
Allen J. Reilly, VA
Bernard F. Reilly, PA
Dr. William Reilly, Jr., NY
Larry Reyburn, CA
Sheila T. Reynolds, IL
John Rieke, NJ
Joseph J. Roach, NY
Richard Robedeau, OR
Marie M. Roberts, CA
William Roberts, MA
John M. Roberts, CA
Shirley A. Rogers, TX
Robert D. Ronsheim, NJ
Patrick Rooney, NY
Robert M. Rowden, M.D., CA
Marie Ruff, IL
Nina Rusko Berger, CT
Margaret & Benjamin Russell, CA
Rev. Gerald Ryan, NY
Jerry Ryan, MA
Gerald M. Sande, MN
John Sankovitz, MN
Robert W. Sauter, OH
Michael & Ann Savageau, MI
Cornelius J. Scanlon, CT
Stephen A. Scherr, NE
Neil H. Schilmoeller, TX
Dr. Raymond H. Schmandt, PA
Ann Marie Schneeman, NY
Robert & Frances Schueler, MD
Paul Schweitzer, NY
Rev. Msgr. John J. Seli, PA
Joseph M. Sendry, DC
Diane Senese, IL
Rev. William H. Shannon, NY
Thomas A. Shannon, MA
Share It Now Foundation, OR
Rev. James D. Shaughnessy, IL
H. Carroll Sheehy, Jr., NV
James Joseph Sheridan, SC
Rev. John P. Smith, IA
Helen Lapat Smith, IL
A.A. Sommer, Jr., MD
John Sowinski, IL
Jeffrey Spencer, CA
Rev. Msgr. James F. Spengler, NY
Mary Ann Spreckelmeyer, MD
Rev. Robert St. Clair, S.J., CA

Mari Stamper, WA
Laurence Stanton, IL
Dr. & Mrs. Otto C. Stegmaier, IA
Gabrielle Steinfels, NY
Elizabeth H. Steltenpohl, NY
Anne & Will Storz, CT
James Strauss, MN
Louise Stutzman, VA
Rev. Msgr. Edward Sullivan, PA
Lawrence Sullivan, FL
Russell & Katherine Sullivan, PA
Thomas E. Sullivan, NC
Thomas P. Sullivan, CA
Valerie Sutter, VA
Joan M. Sutton, PA
Ann M. Swanson, MA
Marilyn F. Talbot, NY
L. B. Thiltgen, MN
Mr. & Mrs. John M. Thompson, SC
Robert E. Tobin, NY
Michael & Barbara Toohig, VA
Rev. David Toolan, S.J., NY
Rev. Richard Trutter, O.P., IL
Rev. Charles Van Duren, IL
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph F. Vaughan, MD
Mrs. Kathleen M. Vertin, MN
Lillian Doris Viacava, NY
Kurt Vorndran, DC
Mary Elizabeth Wald, MA
A.E.P. Wall, FL
Patricia D. Walsh, MA
Larry & Sue Washburn, NY
Rev. William J. Watters, S.J., MD
Charles & Carolyn Watts, IN
Rev. Charles P. Weber, NH
Robert H. Weber, CO
Frank C. Webster, FL
Rev. David E. Weisner, MI
Regina Weissert, IN
Elizabeth A. Weixel, PA
Martin G. Welsh, CA
Rev. Edward Wetterer, NY
Daniel W. Whalen, Jr., CO
Ann White Ferris, VA
Rev. Thomas C. Widner, S.J., IL
Margaret G. Wilkinson, CA
Timothy F. Willert, NY
Mrs. Mary E. Williams, PA
Nancy Williams, MI
Joan Cunningham Williams, VA
Lucille Wilson, MN
Richard C. Wilson, OH
Ruth & Joe Wimsatt, KY
Mary T. Winch, OR
Margaret B. Winegarden, NY
In memory of Adrian P. Winkel, MN
Pauline Wohlford, MI
James Wolcott, NY
R. J. Wolf, OH
Kenneth L. Woodward, NY
Susan Wool, NY
Marguerite & MaryBeth Wordell, KY
James G. Worl, FL
Mrs. Wilbur (Priscilla) Wright, CO
Ms. Aldona J. Zailskas, IL
Rev. Joseph Zalotay, MD
Franklin Zawacki, CA
Michael Zeik, NY
Eugenia Pawlik Zeitlin, CA
Rev. Joseph Zemites, AZ
Kathleen Black Ziegler, IL
Silvia B. Zimmermann, DC
John J. & Nell Zingsheim, MN
Mary I. Zotti, IL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED